

❖ HEBRAICA. ❖

VOL. III.

JANUARY, 1887.

No. 2.

NOTES ON A COMPARISON OF THE TEXTS OF PSALM XVIII. AND 2 SAMUEL XXII.

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The object of these notes is to arrange and examine some of the phenomena of variation between the parallel texts 2 Sam. XXII. and Ps. XVIII., to point out the questions suggested by such an attempt, the data that exist for the solution of these questions and the direction in which, as suggested by the imperfect study I have been able to give, the solution of some of these questions seems to lie. I have added two or three notes¹ not specially connected with the usual controversies on the texts, but raising points of interest on which the comparison of these texts, or the way in which it has been discussed, seems to throw some light.

I. A CLASSIFICATION OF THE VARIATIONS.

Probable character as compared with variations of New Testament MSS.—The tendency of modern commentators is to attribute the differences between these two texts rather to the conscious or unconscious mistakes of scribes than to any critical or literary revision. It may be useful to examine these differences with a view to ascertaining how far they are such as might naturally arise in the process of copying. One may expect to find assistance for such a task in the phenomena, laws and results of the textual criticism of the Greek Testament.² For these the abundance of MSS., versions and quotations, affords rich material, and labor has been long and freely spent upon it. Moreover, we should expect to find that the phenomena of the differentiation of MSS. through the process of copying would be largely the same in all ages and languages; and it should be possible to allow roughly for the varying frequency of copying, the clearness of characters, accuracy and carefulness of scribes.

¹ Each note is indicated by an asterisk at its beginning.

² Cf. Note III. Appendix to Second Book of Samuel edited by A. F. Kirkpatrick, M. A.

We may, therefore, begin by attempting to arrange the differences under one of the fuller systems of divisions of possible errors in New Testament criticism and perhaps that of Hammond¹ will be the most useful, namely,

A. Unconscious errors: (1) sight; (2) hearing; (3) memory.

B. Conscious errors as: (1) incorporation of glosses; (2) corrections of harsh and unusual expressions; (3) corrections due to a desire to harmonize parallel accounts; (4) insertions due to the influence of current liturgical forms; (5) alterations for dogmatical reasons:

Then it may be necessary or possible to add one or two supplementary divisions due to the special characteristics of the Hebrew character and language.

It will often be possible to account for the same difference in various ways, and so to place it under different heads. The more largely this is the case, the greater is the probability that the differences are to be wholly or chiefly accounted for as the errors of scribes.

A. Unconscious Errors. 1. Errors of Sight. *a.* Cases of confusion of similar letters. **ך** and **ר**: v. 11, Sam. **וירא**, Ps. **וירא**; v. 43, Sam. **ארקם**, Ps. **אריקם**, cf. A. 1. *d.* **ן** and **י**: v. 23, Sam. **אסור**, Ps. **אסיר**. **ן** and **ם**: v. 15, Sam. **חצים**, Ps. **חצין**. So Thenius in loco, "Ps. **חצין** through the *defacing* of half the **ם**," cf. B. 2. *b.*

כ and **ר**: v. 12, Sam. **חשרת**, Ps. **חשכת**. **כ** and **ם**: v. 28, Sam. **ועיניך**, Ps. **ועינים**. Ewald on Ps.: "The reading of Sam. probably arose merely from the false reading of **עניר** as **ענים**."

ן and **ר**: v. 33, Sam. **וירר**, Ps. **וירן**. Also **ות** and **ים**: v. 28, Sam. **רמים**, Ps. **רמות**. Thenius in loco: "The **ת** of **רמות** was closed by the line (*Schriftlinie*) beneath, and the **ן** shortened."

To these may be added another case indicated by the Septuagint as a difference between its text in Psalms and that of the Hebrew, Ps. XVIII. 35. **ח** and **ת**: Heb. **נחתה**, LXX. **נתתה** (*ἐθου*). So Hitzig in loco. Cf. A. 1. *c.*

b. Transposition of Letters. **ג** and **ר**: v. 46, Sam. **ויחרו**, Ps. **ויחרו**.

c. Omission or insertion of a letter or letters, owing to proximity to the same or a similar letter or set of letters; also omission or insertion of **ן** or **י**. (These last, from their small size in the square character, might easily be overlooked, and so omitted; and possibly an accidental insertion of them might pass unnoticed and fail to be corrected for the same reason.)

* The variation in the readings in v. 16, Sam. **אפקי ים**, Ps. **אפקי מים**, may very probably have arisen from a confusion caused by the repetition of **ים**; possibly the first step was to divide the words **אפקי מים**, and then to correct the grammar into **אפקי ים**. It is possible also that in v. 24 the variations Sam. **ואהיה תמים**, Ps. **ואהי תמים** may be due either to an omission of **ה** through

¹ Hammond's *Textual Criticism*, etc., p. 16.

its similarity to ת, or to an accidental repetition of ת and its subsequent misreading as ה; but cf. B. 2. b.

Again, in v. 25, we have Sam. כְּבָרִי, Ps. כְּבָר יְדִי where the combination יְדִי probably led to the assimilation of דִּי to רִי and then to the omission of the second רִי. It is, however, just possible that the variation arose from כְּבָרִי by the accidental repetition of רִי and the misreading of the second רִי as דִּי.

In v. 27, it is possible that the reading of Sam. תִּתְבַּר arose from the accidental omission of the second of the two ר's of תִּתְבַּרְר, or that the reading of Ps. תִּתְבַּרְר arose from the accidental repetition of the ר; but cf. B. 2. b.

So in v. 28 the similarity of ה and ת may have given rise, by omission or repetition, to the variations Sam. אֶת, Ps. אֶתָּה.

So again v. 35, Sam. נַחַת, Ps. נַחְתָּה, where the concurrence of two or three similar letters would increase the chance of a mistake; cf. A. 1. a.

In v. 44, the variation Sam. תִּשְׁמְרֵנִי, Ps. תִּשְׁמְנֵנִי may have arisen through the slight similarity of ר to מ; cf. A. 1. a., Ewald on v. 28.

Under this head we may possibly include, as caused by the character of the letters ' and ך, a. Some of the inconsistencies in the carrying out of the system of *Scriptio Defectiva* in Sam. and *Scriptio Plena* in Ps. β. The variations sometimes between the two texts, sometimes between the Q^{rî} and K^{thîbh} of Samuel, between the affixes ך and ךֿ. γ. The insertion or omission of ך in עֲנֹתְךָ, עֲנֹתָךְ, יִשְׁעוֹ, יִשְׁעֵי, etc.; but cf. C. 2. δ. The insertion or omission of the conjunction ך, especially ך conversive (or consecutive) before the ' of the third person.

d. Omission by Homœoteleuton. Thenius seems to consider that the loss of the clause in v. 3, וּמִנּוּסֵי מִשְׁעֵי מַחְמָם תִּשְׁעֵנִי, may be due to the confusion caused by the string of first person affixes. Cf. B. 4. It is possible also that in v. 43 אֲרַקְעֵם should stand in the text, and has been omitted in Ps. because of its ending with ם, as does the previous and similar אֲרַקְעֵם or אֲרִיקֵם; but cf. A. 1. a. Also in v. 36 of Sam. the omission of וַיִּמְיֹן תִּסְעֶרְנִי.

e. Variations owing either to the accidental repetition of a word and subsequent differentiation of the two words thus obtained; or to the accidental omission of one of two consecutive similar words. In v. 12 סָבִיבָתִּי סָכּוֹת may be omitted in Sam., owing to its slight similarity to the two following words סָבִיבָתִּי סָכּוֹת. In v. 39, the presence of וְאֵכָלָם in Sam. after כָּלָתָם or its omission in the Psalm may be due to one of these causes. So too may be explained in v. 43 the insertion or omission of אֲרַקְעֵם (Sam.) after אֲרִיקֵם or אֲרַקְעֵם; but cf. A. 1. d.

A. 2. Errors of Hearing. V. 42, the variation between אֵל (Sam.) and עַל (Ps.) may be due to this cause; but cf. B. 2. b.

A. 3. Errors of Memory. Errors classed under this head may be supposed to arise thus: the scribe grasps the sense of a clause, but attending more closely to the sense than to the exact words, substitutes for some word or words a synonymous equivalent; also small particles will be omitted or inserted where the

omission or insertion only slightly affects the sense; cf. Hammond, p. 19. It is difficult to draw the line between errors arising thus and errors arising from the conscious substitution of usual words and forms for unusual. The same tendency which would lead to this conscious substitution might also lead to unconscious substitution. Thus, though differences of grammatical form, etc., are reserved for a later group, it is possible that many of them are unconscious errors of memory.

a. Interchange of Synonyms. V. 1, Sam. מכף, Ps. מיד, the reading of Sam. being probably assimilated to the preceding מכף. V. 3, Sam. אלהי, Ps. אלי. V. 29, Sam. ויהוה, Ps. אלהי. V. 32, Sam. אל, Ps. אלוה. V. 47, Sam. inserts ישעי before צור.

There is no systematic variation of the names of God between the two texts, and the few differences that do occur seem to fall fairly under this head. In v. 29 the presence of ויהוה in the text of Sam. may be due to the neighboring יהוה. The צור of v. 47 may be a reminiscence of previous צור's. V. 7, Sam. אקרא, Ps. אשוע, the reading of Sam. being probably, as elsewhere, assimilated to a previous word. V. 32, Sam. מבלער, Ps. זולתי, another instance of similar assimilation. V. 48, Sam. ומוריד, Ps. וידבר. V. 49, Sam. מוציא, Ps. מפלטי.

b. Omission or insertion of particles. The reading כי of v. 5 in Sam., and the numerous variations between the two texts and the versions as to presence or absence of ו are doubtless due in part to this cause. Cf. C. 1.

B. Conscious Errors. 1. The incorporation of marginal glosses into the text. The variation in v. 7 may be accounted for by supposing that we have the correct text in the reading ושועתי באוני of Samuel; that this seemed obscure to some reader, who, by way of explanation of באוני, wrote לפניו תבוא in the margin; and that a later scribe incorporated this in the text. The word תאיר, in v. 29 of Ps., may be a marginal gloss inserted in the text; but cf. B. 4. In v. 43, ארקעם may have been originally a marginal explanation of ארקם.

2. Correction of harsh or unusual expressions. a. *Scriptio Plena* and *Defectiva*. The change, which has taken place in the orthography of biblical Hebrew, in the partial substitution of the *Scriptio Plena* for the *Scriptio Defectiva*, is perhaps most clearly illustrated by a comparison of these two texts. It is not so much that one has consistently one system, and the other the other, but that they give the process of change in two different stages. While, in most instances, the text of Samuel has the *Scriptio Defectiva*, and the text of Ps. XVIII. the *Scriptio Plena*, in some cases the relation is reversed, as in the קולו (Sam.), קלו (Ps.) of verse 14. This change of orthography may be compared to the process by which, in the transmission of the text of the Greek Testament, classical was substituted for Alexandrine spelling.

b. Changes from one grammatical form to another, and similar slight changes. V. 3, Sam. ומפלטי לי, Ps. ומפלטי. V. 4, Sam. ומאיבי, Ps. ומן-איבי. V. 5,

insertion of כִּי in text of Samuel. V. 6, Sam. סבבני, Ps. סבבני. V. 15, Sam. מגערתך, Ps. אפך. V. 16, Sam. אפך, Ps. בגערת. V. 19, Sam. חציו, Ps. חציו. V. 20, Sam. ויצא, Ps. למשען. V. 21, Sam. כצדקי, Ps. כצדקי. V. 23, Sam. אסור ממנה, Ps. אסיר מני. V. 24, Sam. ואשתמרה, Ps. ואהי. V. 25, Sam. ותתברר, Ps. ותתברר. V. 27, Sam. ותתפל, Ps. ותתפל. V. 37, Sam. ותאזני, Ps. ותאזני. V. 40, Sam. ותתה, Ps. ותתה. V. 41, Sam. ותתה, Ps. ותתה. V. 42, Sam. על, Ps. על. V. 44, Sam. עמי, Ps. עמי. V. 45, Sam. יתכחשו, Ps. יכחשו. V. 46, Sam. ממסגרותם, Ps. ממסגרותיהם. V. 48, Sam. תחתני, Ps. תחתי. V. 49, Sam. תחתני, Ps. תחתני. V. 50, Sam. חמם, Ps. חמם. V. 51, Sam. חמם, Ps. חמם. V. 52, Sam. חמם, Ps. חמם.

3. Corrections due to a desire to harmonize parallel accounts. *a.* In the New Testament this influence seriously affects the text of the Gospels, parts of the Acts, Ephesians and Colossians. Here this influence might be expected to work towards the harmonizing of differences between the two texts; but in such cases the two texts are rendered identical, and there is no evidence of change, unless we can have recourse to independent witnesses. Witnesses, more or less independent, we have in the LXX. and other versions, and in the Q^ri. The versions, however, are most of them wholly or largely influenced by the LXX. The LXX. seldom differs from the two Hebrew texts when they are agreed; and the differences which do occur seem more likely to have arisen from mistake, or failure to understand the text, than from variations in the text; cf. v. 48. The Q^ri of Samuel indicates in two instances a preference for a reading which would introduce a variation between the texts; and this preference may be due to a belief that the text of Samuel had, in these instances, been adapted to that of Ps. XVIII. But it is difficult to feel confident as to the nature of the grounds upon which the readings of the Q^ri are based. The instances are, v. 8, ותגעש for ויתגעש; v. 15, ויהם for ויהם; possibly also in v. 51, in the substitution of מגרול for מגריל, though the reading מגרל of Ps. might suit either.

β. There are also readings which may be due to desire to harmonize the text of the Psalm with that of passages elsewhere which are similar to parts of it. The reading צור ישעי in Sam. (v. 47) may be due to the וצור ישועתי of Ps. LXXXIX. 27. The לי of מפלטי in Sam. (v. 2) might be due to Ps. CXLIV. 2.

γ. Again, the tendency to assimilate the phraseology of different parts of the Psalm may be placed under this head. The influence of this tendency on Sam. (vs. 1, 7, 32) has already been noticed.

* In Ps. XVIII. 43, the reading על פני רוח may be an imperfect reminiscence of the על כנפי רוח of v. 11; and the מפלטי, of Ps. XVIII. 49, is probably due to the previous מפלטי. It may, however, be questioned whether such errors are not more likely to be unconscious than conscious.

4. Liturgical Alterations. It is suggested by Lengerke that the clause **ארחמך**, etc., may have been prefixed to the Psalm by some one who adapted it for use in public worship. On the other hand, Delitzsch suggests that, the rhythm of the text in Samuel having been disturbed by the loss of this clause, the words **מנוסי**, etc., were inserted to restore the rhythm.

* 5. Dogmatic Alterations. The only reading that suggests any doctrinal motive is the insertion of **תאיר** in v. 29 of Ps. XVIII. Commentators mostly defend the reading of Ps. XVIII., and Delitzsch points out that, though God is spoken of as **אור**, he is not spoken of as **נר**; but this very fact renders it extremely probable that, if God had been, as in Samuel, spoken of as **נר**, the text would have been modified; and the practice of the LXX. and the traditional Tikkun Sopherim in the case of expressions considered derogatory to the divine majesty would be some ground for supposing that a similar motive might have led to the insertion of **תאיר** here.

C. Other classes than those of Hammond. 1. Errors arising from mechanical injury to the text from which the copy is taken. MSS. of the Greek Testament are often found to be variously injured; portions are missing at the beginning and end of pages; the edges have been injured, and the beginning and end of lines lost; letters are obliterated or indistinct. Any one copying from such MSS. might well be led into errors of omission or else of conjectural emendation or misreading of half effaced letters. Lengerke (p. 11), following Ewald, is inclined to maintain that such errors are numerous among the variations of these two texts. This view not only affords an easy way of accounting for the various omissions, but especially meets the case of such variations as the following:—v. 13, Sam. **בערו**, Ps. . . . **עביו עברו ברד**; v. 15, Sam. **ברק**, Ps. **וברקים** **רם**; v. 33, Sam. **מעווי**, Ps. **המאורני**; where, in each case, the text of Samuel looks like a mechanical fragment of the other text, so much injured as to need some serious cause to account for the injury. Some of the cases of confusion of similar letters, and some of the omissions of the **ן**, might be due to this cause.

2. Errors arising from confusion between cases where the presence or absence of **'** or **ן** was a question of *Scriptio*, and cases where the **'** or **ן** was a root-letter. From the nature of the case, such a class of errors is peculiar to the criticism of the Old Testament text. If, at any stage, any systematic revision of the text took place with a view to completing the system of the *Scriptio Plena*, amid the somewhat wholesale insertion of **ן**'s and **'**'s, one or two might be inserted where they were not wanted. If, on the other hand, it may be supposed that scribes were inclined at times to economize time, space and labor, they might, in some cases, revert to the *Scriptio Defectiva*, and sometimes might omit, as quiescent, a **ן** or **'** really a root-letter. To one of these causes might be attributed the following

variations:—v. 26 (Sam.) גבור, (Ps. XVIII.) נבר; v. 36 (Sam.) וענתך, (Ps. XVIII.) וענותך; v. 42 (Sam.) ישעו, (Ps. XVIII.) ישועו; v. 45 (Sam.) לשמוע, (Ps. XVIII.) לשמע.

We have yet to notice a few variations that could scarcely be quoted as simple cases of any of these groups.

V. 8 (Sam.) מוסדות השמים, (Ps.) מוסדי הרים:—Various ideas of fitness, etc., might give rise to such a variation. If הרים is original, השמים might be substituted as an antithesis to the preceding הארץ. If השמים be original, הרים might be suggested through the connection of the idea of רגז with הרים. In verse 13, the presence of ברך וגחלי אש at the end might serve to account for either the insertion or omission of the same clause at the end of verse 14. Sam. (v. 38) ואשמדם, Ps. ואשיגם:—This may be either a sort of error of confusion of words of similar sense, limited by an attempt to preserve similarity of form and sound; or it may be the result of partial obliteration of letters in the original text. Sam. (v. 39) ולא יקומון, (Ps.) ולא יכלו קום:—The reading of the Psalm looks somewhat like an explanation or amplification of Samuel. Lengerke, however, emphatically approves of the reading of the Psalm; in this case the text of Samuel may be due to mutilation of the original text. Thenius, however, maintains that the אכלם, read by Samuel in the previous verse, belongs to the original text, and suggests that יכלו is somehow due to a misplacing and miswriting of this word. The alteration of the position of לשמע און ישמעו לי in v. 45, and of כגויים in v. 50, may be an error of sight or memory. The reading of the Psalm חבלי for משברי is probably an assimilation to the following חבלי; it is scarcely a case of substitution of synonyms, and may be an error of sight or memory.

II. EXTENT OF THE VARIATIONS.

As our object in noticing the extent of the variations is to compare it with the extent of the variations between other texts, we may omit mere variations of *Scriptio* as being of a special character. We may also omit variations of pointing, for a similar reason.

With these limitations, we find that, out of about 500 words in the text, about 130 (counting all omissions) are affected by the variations; that is to say, about one in four. Such variation is much more extensive than between two MSS. or two texts of a passage of the Greek Testament. For instance, in Matt. II., out of about 440 words, about thirty are affected by the various readings of Lachmann, Tischendorf and Tregelles; that is to say, about one out of fourteen. Again, 1 Chron. XVI. 8–22, and Ps. CV. 1–15, give two texts of a part of a Psalm; and here the variations only affect eight words out of one hundred, or about one out of thirteen. In other cases of parallel texts, in different parts of the Old Testament, the variations are more numerous, but seldom so numerous as in this case.

III. DISTRIBUTION OF READINGS CONTAINING DIFFICULT OR UNUSUAL EXPRESSIONS.

1. In the text of Samuel:—Verse 12, חֲשֶׁרֶת; v. 25, כִּבְרִי; v. 26, גִּבּוֹר וְאֵתָה; v. 27, תִּתְּבֵר, תִּתְּפֵל; v. 28, עֲלֵי רַמִּים תִּשְׁפִּיל; v. 29, וְעֵינֶיךָ עַל רַמִּים תִּשְׁפִּיל; v. 33, נִירִי יְהוָה; v. 36, וְעֵנְתֶךָ; v. 40, וְתִזְרֵנִי; v. 41, תִּתְּנָה; v. 46, וְיִחְגְּרֵנִי.

2. In the text of Ps. XVIII.:—v. 6, סִבְבֹּנִי; v. 11, וְיִדָּא; v. 15, וּבִרְקִים רֶם; v. 23, מִנִּי.

It is difficult to determine what is sufficiently unusual to put in such a list. The above are, however, such as may be considered either, (1) sufficiently unusual to lead a scribe to correct them; or (2) sufficiently unusual to give rise to a suspicion of carelessness in transcription.

IV. THE TEXT OF THE LXX.

1. The LXX. versions of Samuel and Psalms are both agreed in supporting the text of Ps. XVIII., against the text of Samuel, in the following instances:—In v. 7, the versions of the LXX., instead of repeating the same word for “cry,” as in Samuel (אֲקִרָא אֲקִרָא), have two different words, as in Ps. XVIII. (אֲקִרָא אִשְׁוֹעַ). The second word in Samuel is βοήσονται, and in Ps. ἐκέκραζα. This variation seems to show that, in each case, the LXX. is based on a Hebrew text; and that it is not a case in which one of the two versions of the LXX. has been adapted to the other. In v. 12, the LXX. of Sam. inserts ἀποκρυφήν αὐτοῦ with the text of Ps. XVIII. In v. 16, the LXX. of Sam. inserts καὶ with Ps. In v. 25, the LXX. of Sam. has κατὰ τὴν καθαρὴν τῶν χειρῶν μου with the כִּבְרִי of Ps. XVIII. In v. 39, the LXX. of Sam. has nothing to represent ואֵכָל, though A adds καὶ τελέσω αὐτούς. In v. 43, the LXX. of Sam. has nothing to represent אֲרִקְעֵם.

2. Both versions agree in supporting the text of Samuel in the following cases: In v. 14, the LXX. of Psalms has nothing to represent בָּרַר וְגַחְלִי אֵשׁ. In v. 36, the LXX. of Psalms renders עֲנֹתְךָ as παιδεία and this rendering seems rather to refer it to עֲנָה than עֲנֵה.

3. In v. 15, the reading of the LXX. of Sam. καὶ ἤστραψεν ἀστραπήν with the expression בָּרַק בָּרוֹק in Ps. CXLIV. 6 and the readings בָּרַק in Sam. and בָּרְקִים רֶם in Ps. XVIII. suggest an original reading בָּרַק בָּרְקִים (so Thenius). It is, however, possible that the LXX. of Samuel is simply a double rendering of בָּרַק.

Thus the LXX. inclines to the text of Ps. XVIII., but various facts tend to minimize the authority on the LXX. in a case like this. We are ignorant of the circumstances under which the translation was made; but we know that later on the text was, so to speak, re-assimilated to the Hebrew, and disturbed in other ways by the Hexapla. Nor does it seem unlikely that, in such a case as this, parallel accounts in the LXX. as in the Greek Testament have been harmonized in the present text.

The Vulgate of Sam., while in some instances inserting what the LXX. omits, is in others still more closely assimilated to the text of Ps. XVIII., and this process of assimilation seems carried still further in the Syriac (see Thenius).

These phenomena of the later translations seem to point to a continuous tendency to harmonize the text of Sam. to that of Ps. XVIII., and suggest that the LXX., the Vulgate and the Syriac illustrate different stages of the operation of the tendency.

The translation in Jerome's Hebrew Psalter consists of the Vulgate translation of Sam., corrected to the Hebrew text of Ps. XVIII., with a few expressions borrowed from Jerome's Roman and Gallican revisions of the Old Latin. The text is mainly the same as the Hebrew.

V. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE TWO TEXTS.

1. Samuel. *a.* Frequent use of the *Scriptio Defectiva*. *b.* Numerous unusual expressions, especially grammatical forms, see III. *c.* Tendency to repeat the same words, see B. 3. *d.* According to Delitzsch, the rhythm is often less complete than in Ps. XVIII. *e.* There are six קר' *s*, while there are none in Ps. XVIII.

2. Psalm XVIII. *a.* Use of the *Scriptio Plena*. *b.* According to some commentators more appropriate poetical language, style and rhythm.

3. The differences. It has been noticed that while the differences are similar in character to those between MSS. of the Greek New Testament, they are much more numerous than is the case with the differences between such MSS. The bulk of the differences merely affect the grammatical form and the style of the composition. The meaning can scarcely be said to be seriously affected in any case, so that, as far as meaning is concerned, the general effect is the same in both cases. But the version in Samuel seems to impress many commentators as rougher and more prosaic than that in Psalms.

VI. EXTERNAL HISTORY OF THE TEXT.

Before attempting to deduce any results from the previous arrangement and discussion of the text and its details, it may be well to set down what is known of the history of these texts. We may fairly assume that, before the Psalm was incorporated in the Psalter and the Book of Samuel, it was written out in a separate form. Later on the Book of Samuel was included in the volume called נביאים and the Psalter in that called כתובים, and later still these volumes together with the תורה were included in one book. It is also generally supposed that the volume נביאים was collected earlier than that of כתובים. We also know that at first Hebrew MSS. were written in the ancient irregular Hebrew character and that, probably during the period following the return from the captivity, this ancient character was superseded by the more regular square Chaldee character.

During the second and third centuries B. C. the Hebrew Scriptures were translated into Greek at Alexandria, probably by Alexandrian Jews, different

parts being translated at different times and by different translators, so that the translations of this Psalm are or were originally independent. Then early in the Christian era Latin and Syriac translations were made, the Latin directly from the LXX., the Syriac largely influenced by it. In the fourth century A. D., Jerome revised the Latin translation from the Hebrew.

There were also other Greek translations in the second century A. D., but these were mostly wanting in these sections, or do not present any important variations.

Also, it is probable that for a long time there were current in the synagogues oral Chaldee translations or Targums, but the written Targums are too late to be of much use.

Finally, we know that early in the Christian era a school of Jewish teachers, commonly called the Massorites, devoted themselves to the study, arrangement and pointing of the text, and to them we owe it in its present form.

VII. THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE TEXTS CONSIDERED IN THE LIGHT OF THE HISTORY OF THE TEXT.

We will now try to combine our two sets of data, namely, the character of the differences between the texts and the known history of the texts.

We start with the Psalm as originally composed, probably, according to most authorities, by David; or even if not by David, yet in his time and under his auspices. Lengerke (p. 50) suggests that it may have been for some time transmitted orally, and that some of the various readings may have arisen from this cause. Such an oral transmission is probable enough in itself and might readily be included among the possible alternative causes of errors. But the differences between the texts as we now have them are not specially of the kind that arise from oral transmission. At any rate, the differences of these texts as compared with the synoptic records of the oral tradition of the Gospel are by no means of the same character. The proportion of verses left entirely unchanged is much larger here. It is true that the parallel passages Matt. vi. 24 and Luke xvi. 13; Matt. vii. 3-5, 7-11 and Luke vi. 41, 42; xi. 9-13 are almost identical, and the small variations which do occur are similar in character and even fewer than those of our sections; but the fact is most easily accounted for by supposing some documentary relation between the sections in Matthew and Luke. Thus we can scarcely maintain that the present texts give any clear indications of oral transmission.

We come, therefore, to an original copy of the Psalm, and may fairly suppose that for a longer or shorter time copies were made of this single Psalm and that during this period divergencies would begin to arise. In this stage we have a special opening for corruption of the text. A copy of a short work passing from hand to hand as a small roll would be exceedingly obnoxious to mechanical injury,

whereby the beginning and end of the roll, the edges and even the body of the text might be mutilated, or the writing obliterated. The danger of such mechanical injury would be diminished when the separate Psalm was incorporated into a larger volume. Lengerke (pp. 11 and 50) following Ewald assigns this cause for some of the alterations, and it has already been shown that many variations may be most readily explained in this way.

Here we may ask, When did the divergence between our two texts begin? It is, of course, possible, as some suppose, that the author wrote the Psalm in two forms, and that the Samuel text connects by a series of copies with one form and the Psalm text with the other. It is also possible that both texts may be linked by connecting copies with some copy made long after David's time. If the copy from which the divergence begins is very old, then the agreement of the texts thus obtained may be equally late. It seems probable that the divergence began before the separate Psalm was incorporated into larger volumes, and certainly before it was incorporated in either Samuel or Psalms.

For this view the following reasons may be assigned :

1. Editors of collections of Psalms would naturally be those connected with the choral services of the temple; while the writers of annals seem to have belonged to the schools of the prophets. Diverging copies must soon have arisen, and editors belonging to different schools would be likely to have different copies.

2. There are various readings which seem to be best accounted for by referring them to the early period of the history of the text when a small copy would be specially exposed to mechanical injury.

3. If the divergence began after incorporation in the books of Psalm and Samuel, one text must have been borrowed from the other at a pretty advanced stage, and it ought to be possible to trace the dependence of one text on the other. But it is now generally agreed that this cannot be done.

4. It is alleged that **תִּתְּכֹר** etc. are popular forms. The alteration of a correct form into a popular form is more likely to have taken place before incorporation into a history than afterwards.

It should, however, be noticed that the text of the Book of Samuel in general is considered to be of the same rough and mutilated character ascribed to the text of this Psalm in Samuel. Accepting for the present this view of the character of the text, it may be said that if the Book of Samuel was compiled largely from fragments similar in textual character to this Psalm, the character of the text might well be the same throughout the book.

In order to work out this question thoroughly it would be necessary to examine the state of the text in other early historical books; which again would involve the discussion of even wider questions.

We may also ask at this stage, What was the state of the text when the divergence began?

But the grounds for an answer are very slight. We might more or less successfully construct the text from which the two diverged, but we could not say how far this text accurately represented the original or how far it was corrupt.

Leaving therefore the period during which the Psalm was copied separately, the next step is its incorporation into larger volumes. It is generally maintained that the Psalm had formed part of smaller collections before being incorporated in 2 Samuel and Psalms. It is difficult to resist the arguments by which many critics maintain that the Psalter in its present form was evolved by progressive integrations, in small collections of increasing size from the original individual Psalms. It is also generally supposed that the Book of Samuel rests on earlier documents.

Hence we have no ground for supposing that the transition from the copy of the individual Psalm to the volume of either Psalter or Samuel was immediate, but rather that there were intermediate stages of incorporation.

Now there are two main kinds of incorporation; smaller books may be copied together on to a larger roll, or may be in some way combined, merely for convenience and safety, as heterogeneous pamphlets are sometimes bound together for a library. This process need not affect the text except negatively, by checking the process of mechanical injury. Again the materials may be arranged to form a history, or edited as a collection of poems. The occasion of such an editing is an opportunity and a temptation for adapting the materials to the taste of the editor; a poem, however, introduced as a poem into a history or a hymnal is less likely to be modified than a narrative introduced into a history. As many of the variations probably arose in the period between the first including of this Psalm in some small historical fragment or some small collection of poems, and the final editing of the Psalter or the Book of Samuel in their complete form, it may be well to consider what changes were likely to take place in this period.

It is likely on the one hand that the oftener a text is copied, the more various readings there will be; but on the other hand, the circumstances which lead to frequent copying may tend to preserve the accuracy of the text, and the circumstances under which copies are seldom made may afford few safeguards for the text.

Frequent copies imply manual dexterity on the part of scribes, a wide knowledge of the text and copies to compare with. These circumstances would tend to limit and correct careless errors, while the absence of such circumstances implied in few copies would leave an opening for careless blunders in transcription and for the repetition of these blunders. But this technical ability, unless combined with a very critical spirit, would tend to introduce another class of various readings, namely, corrections to the approved grammar, orthography and style of the time of the copyist. Moreover at each stage of incorporation, whenever a fresh collection or arrangement of Psalms was made, or a set of annals re-edited, the

editor would naturally read through his materials in as critical a spirit as he might be capable of; he would be more likely to notice details of style and grammar than the mere scribe, and might consider that his position warranted him in correcting them. Thus we may conclude that the text oftener copied and edited would be more free from mere blunders, but would be more likely to have corrections in style and grammar.

Now it seems likely that Psalms would be both oftener copied and oftener edited than Samuel. Modern critics incline to recognize many editings of the Psalms, and it is a matter of common experience that hymn-books are more in request than histories, and the less literary the age the greater the preference for hymn-books. It seems reasonable to suppose that the same tendency that gives us now countless editions of hymn-books would give rise then to collections of Psalms. Moreover, if these were used, as is commonly supposed, for liturgical purposes, copies would frequently be made for the choir. The people would probably be more familiar with the Psalms than with Samuel, and the version of this Psalm in the Psalter would be better known than that in Samuel.

Hence we might expect the text of Samuel to be rough and mutilated, and the text of Psalms more free from careless blunders, partly because the more frequent and careful copying of the text of Psalms would preserve it from such blunders, and partly because the frequent copying and editing by a somewhat critical school would tend to the smoothing away of what was rough and difficult. Now the fact already shown, that careless readings and doubtful grammar are much more common in Samuel than in Psalms, is entirely consistent with these views.

Lengerke, indeed, says (p. 9), that all critical art was unknown to the Jews till the time of the Massorites, but that the amount of critical art assumed above is very slight.

When this Psalm was first included in a larger work, we cannot say, but we may fairly say that the period of successive editions concluded in the case of one text with the publication of the Book of Samuel, and in the other with that of the Psalter in its present form. It is generally held that the Psalter is later than the Book of Samuel, so we have reason to suppose that the period of editions was longer in the case of the Psalter.

Possibly the inclusion of the Book of Samuel in the collection **נביאים** and the Psalter in that of **כתובים** may have been the occasion of some slight revision.

It is to be noticed that the fact of the two texts of our Psalm being in different sections of the Hebrew Bible implies some slight difference in the treatment of the text.

There are two general changes which probably belong to the latter part of this period, one is the change from *Scriptio Defectiva* to *Scriptio Plena*, and the other the change from the ancient or Phœnician character to the square character.

As to the change in *Scriptio*, there is an appearance of system about it, e. g., נ regularly in Samuel and ו in Psalm XVIII., and this suggests a conscious revision of the text. It is, of course, possible that the general influence of the tendencies at work upon the text of Psalms had largely introduced the *Scriptio Plena*, and that the change was completed by a reviser. Any such revision would imply some degree of critical feeling and care, and would be the occasion of a careful reading and some study of the text, and so also an opportunity for other alterations.

Again, the change from ancient to square characters would have a three-fold effect:

A. It would check the tendency to one class of mistakes, because letters which had been similar, and so liable to be mistaken for one another, would be so no longer.

B. This change might also be the occasion for other alterations.

C. It would introduce new possibilities of error by rendering similar and liable to be mistaken letters previously unlike.

This change of character seems to have been going on when the volume נביאים and the Psalter were being arranged and completed. The coincidence of these two processes is significant.

We have now brought our text down to the time when the books containing it had assumed their final form, and were written in square Hebrew characters. There are variations which must have arisen after this time, namely, the cases of confusion of similar letters (A. 1. a.); for the similarity of the letters in question does not exist in the older character.

The next landmark in the history of the text is the translation of the LXX. It has already been shown that at this stage we find nearly all the variations between the present texts; so that the extent of variation since is comparatively limited. Here again there is an element of uncertainty in the state of the LXX. text.

It is pretty generally agreed that after the time of the LXX. the different MSS. and versions rest on essentially the same Hebrew text, or else in the case of versions directly or indirectly on the LXX. There come into play the elaborate system of safeguards for the text, together with the point system, and by these means the Massoretic scholars stereotyped one form of the text and prevented further corruption. Wellhausen¹ says (p. 16) that "the Massora brought to stand in mid-flow a hitherto very flowing text," meaning, doubtless, that the Massora suddenly checked a process of change. In fact the Massora did for the text of the Old Testament what the printing of the Textus Receptus did for the New. The result was that it preserved for us in its exact form a text chosen as standard, but

¹ Der Text der Bücher Samuelis.

also that it virtually suppressed that variety of texts and of materials for criticism which might have enabled later scholars to determine a true text. Besides this, the acceptance of an authorized text put an end for centuries to critical work on the text. It is also probable that this somewhat sudden stereotyping of the text led to the adoption of recent blunders and their interpretation, when the continuation of a free criticism would naturally have eliminated them. For instance, in v. 12, the reading **חִשְׁרָת** of Samuel may be a blunder of the scribe, found in some MS. to which special importance was attached; and in the natural course of things, it would have been corrected by comparison with other MSS. to **חִשְׁכָּת**, but owing to some arbitrary Massoretic canon, intended to enforce absolute loyalty to the text as received, it may have been preserved.

We will next discuss directly two main questions noticed incidentally in the note on the history of the text:

I. Did the divergence of the two texts arise from revision or merely from errors of transcription?

II. Which of the two texts is the most ancient and which the more correct?

One group of commentators hold that both are Davidic, and therefore both correct texts; among these critics are Alexander, and Neale, and Hengstenberg. It is adopted in the Speaker's Commentary, and alluded to as evident by Scrivener in his introduction to the Criticism to the New Testament. Eichhorn and de Rossi are inclined to attribute some of the variations to a Davidic recension.¹

Schultens attributes the variations to a revision,¹ and Gramberg² attributes the text of Samuel to a late revision from the Psalm-text, so too De Wette.²

But the bulk of modern critics, while admitting more or less revision, assign most of the variations to errors of copyists, amongst these are Hammond,³ Clericus,³ Kennicott³ and Rosenmüller.³

Most critics maintain that the text of Psalm XVIII. is the more correct; but many admit that the text of Samuel is the more ancient. This view is held by Ewald, who says "The copy in the Psalms is certainly the later. . . . must have proceeded not from Samuel, but from another ancient and very good source. . . . the good and original text is so strongly divided among the two;" also by Ols-hausen. Delitzsch is clear in his preference for the text as in Psalms, but admits that the Samuel-text seems to be of great antiquity. Böttcher speaks of the Psalm-text as a Priest-recension and the Samuel-text as a lay-recension.⁴ It will be a matter of opinion whether a text would undergo more alteration in the hands of the temple authorities or amongst laymen. He also, however, expresses an opinion, which is endorsed by Thenius, that "the Psalm-text is fuller and purer, but that, in Samuel, though faulty, in places preserved in form more true to the original and ancient text."⁵ Lengerke admits readings from both texts, and leaves

¹ Lengerke, p. 8. ² Lengerke, p. 12. ³ Rosenmüller, Scholia *in loco*. ⁴ Delitzsch *in loco*.

⁵ Thenius *in loco*.

some doubtful, but he favors the Psalm-text, though he holds that the orthography of the Samuel-text is more ancient.

With some critics the balance inclines to Samuel; Bleek says (II. 251) "2 Sam. XXII. gives the original readings, not everywhere, but very usually." Prof. Kirkpatrick, in his note on the subject, in the appendix to the Second Book of Samuel, in the Cambridge Bible for 'Schools, gives the following decision with some reserve: "The text in 2 Samuel, although in many respects defective, is as a whole the better representative of the original form; and that the text in the Psalter has been subjected to a careful revision of a later date, in which peculiar forms, which perhaps were 'licenses of' public usage,' have been replaced by classical forms; unusual constructions simplified, archaisms and obscure expressions explained."

Some, on the other hand, give a very strong verdict for the Psalm-text. Lowe and Jennings incline to such a judgment. Hitzig attributes the variations to a modification to prose forms, and a carelessness of copying characteristic of the historical books; Delitzsch seems to incline to this opinion. Hupfeld seems to be strongly of this opinion.

Before discussing these questions it seems necessary to define the word "revision." It may be used to signify a complete examination of the text and a modification of it to suit the views of the reviser, and in this case all the variations might be due to such a revision as, for instance, the defenders of the Davidic recension maintain. But Prof. Kirkpatrick explains the "careful revision" he speaks of, in terms which seem to imply merely a literary revision, not intended to affect the sense. But besides this, every copyist has opportunities of revision, and both the phenomena of MSS. and our knowledge of human nature lead us to suppose that they used these opportunities. Such use is one of the ordinary elements of the corruption of the text in copying, and scarcely needs to be called a revision. A revision, therefore, must be systematic and intentional; it may extend to the sense or limit itself to the style.

I. We now return to our first question:—Did the divergence of the two texts arise from revision or merely from errors of transcription?

It will be convenient to take, as representing the views of those who maintain that *all or most* of the variations arose from a recension, the arguments of Hengstenberg. His first argument, that to admit errors of transcription would open the door to conjectural emendations, is evidently worthless as argument, though it has its weight as a warning against hasty judgment on so important a subject. He next maintains that the variations of these parallel texts are due to revision, because elsewhere in the Old Testament the variations of parallel texts are due to revision.

To this it may be answered that there are variations between other parallel texts which can hardly be accounted for except as errors of the copyist (e. g., the

reading Yă'rê 'ôr'gîm in 2 Sam. XXI. 19): and further that the variations in this case are of a different character from those in other cases of parallel texts. For instance, elsewhere the divine names are systematically altered, and not so here. Also in parallel texts that bear the signs of revision, there is not the same number of variations that can be explained by the confusion of similar letters.

He next argues that the alleged carelessness of copyists is only imaginary; because neither text suggests carelessness by itself, but only when compared with the other. It may be said that in Samuel, at any rate, there are obscure and unusual expressions which must attract attention. In the absence of any parallel text and any system of textual criticism, it was impossible to say more than that they were obscure and unusual; but with the parallel text before us, presenting plain and intelligible readings, it becomes at least a reasonable theory that obscurity may have arisen through carelessness. It is understood in New Testament criticism that obscurity may indicate a defective text, though an alternative intelligible reading may be only a plausible emendation.

He next alleges that *many* of the various readings could not arise from mistakes; but, on the other hand, it has been shown by many critics that *most* of the readings could have so arisen. The classification given above seems to show this.

Lastly, he points out that many of the variations may be explained by the tendency of a reviser to substitute for unusual expressions more grammatical forms and better known words. But nobody doubts that many of the variations, as Prof. Kirkpatrick also maintains, might be due to a reviser or revisers; but when the former argument, that many of the various readings could not arise from mistakes, has been shown to be, at any rate, excessively limited in its application, this last argument loses much of its force. The very same tendency that would lead a reviser to prefer more usual and grammatical expressions, would lead to a similar preference on the part of copyists and editors, and would give rise to both conscious and unconscious alterations. The series of copyings and editings would of course involve conscious alterations, which might be considered a casual and continuous revision. It has already been suggested that there was some systematic revision of orthography in connection with the change from *Scriptio Defectiva* to *Scriptio Plena*. Similarly, it is probable that some reviser may have taken in hand the task of completing that change to later and more correct style which had been already very largely brought about in the process of transmitting the text. Prof. Kirkpatrick's view, that the changes of style are due to a careful revision, does not differ essentially from this. The result in each case would be the same, and the choice between the two views is a matter of *a priori* probability. One other objection to the view that most, if not all, of the variations arose in the ordinary course of transcription, is the number of variations. It has been noticed that the extent of variation in proportion to the length of the text is much greater than that between MSS. of the Greek Testament.

The answer to this is that the circumstances of transcription were much more likely to give rise to errors than in the case of New Testament MSS.

These circumstances are as follows :

1. The absence of written vowels, tending to deprive the copyist of the help to be derived from a ready grasp of the meaning of words copied.
2. The change from *Scriptio Defectiva* to *Scriptio Plena*.
3. The change from Phœnician to square characters.

In the case of such changes as 2 and 3, the copyist largely loses the help derived from sight. He depends more on sense.

4. The less literary character of the times.
5. The fact that the Psalm was probably contained successively in what may be called successive editions of books.

On these grounds we maintain that any systematic revision, except in connection with the change to *Scriptio Plena*; any Davidic or other recension, while by no means intrinsically impossible, is not required either by the character or the number of the variations; and that the variations are sufficiently accounted for by copyist's mistakes, together with such casual alterations as would naturally be made by copyists and editors, and probably a revision confirming and supplementing these alterations in the matter of style.

II. Which text is the more ancient and which the more correct ?

Here again the terms used are a little ambiguous. In one sense the two texts may be said to be of the same age, both in their final form dating from the completion of the Massoretic text. Probably what is usually understood by the question is : " Was the text used by the compiler of the Psalter more or less ancient than that used by the author of Samuel ? " Here again there is ambiguity. Which compiler ? Is there any special interest and importance in determining the form of the text as the last editing of the Psalter rather than at any previous stage ?

Perhaps the question may be restated so as to represent more clearly the point at issue. As to readings that affect the integrity and sense of the Psalm, critics seem inclined to give the preference to the Psalm-text, and the considerations that determine their decision in individual instances are mostly so subjective as to make any comprehensive discussion of these variations very difficult. There remain the readings which affect the orthography, grammar and mere form of expression. With respect to these it is pretty generally agreed that the orthography of the Samuel-text, the *Scriptio Defectiva*, is the more ancient.

There remains the question which seems really at issue under this head. Was the style of the original text polished and correct, or rough and popular ? Has the style been marred, as Hitzig, Hupfeld and in part Delitzsch maintain, by the careless way in which the historical books were written and preserved ; or has an originally rough style been gradually smoothed by a critic or critics of a later and

more literary time? (The latter view is Prof. Kirkpatrick's.) Is the style of the Psalm-text or of the Samuel-text nearer to the original?

Putting into definite shape and supplementing what has already been said incidentally, the balance of argument seems to be in favor of the Samuel-text.

It has already been pointed out that popular forms were more likely, if not original, to creep into the text, when the Psalm was circulated alone, than when it formed part of a historical work. Consequently such readings would be old.

It is also to be noticed that the view that the Samuel-text has degenerated from an earlier text with a poetical style like the Psalm-text, seems to imply a uniformity of poetic style from the time of David to the Restoration; for the "poetical characteristics" of the Psalm-text supposed to have been reduced to prose in the Samuel-text seem to be found also in the Psalms of the Restoration. Moreover, if we accept the view that the Psalm was written by David, we remember at once that a certain roughness of style is supposed to be a characteristic of Davidic Psalms. The history of David's life as shepherd, warrior, outlaw and king does not suggest either opportunity or inclination for acquiring a refined poetic style.

Also the fact of a correction from *Scriptio Defectiva* to *Scriptio Plena* plainly shows the possibility of a similar correction in other matters, whether by a gradual half-unconscious process or by a deliberate revision. We have also the analogy of the New Testament texts in which the bad grammar and bad spelling and other offences against a later and more critical taste were gradually eliminated. We may also refer again to the probable frequent copyings and editings of the Psalm-text as occasions for alterations.

Thus on this last question we may conclude that, however defective and possibly mutilated, yet in form and expression the Samuel-text is nearer to the original. It is possible that its relation to the Psalm-text is similar to the relation of Codex D to some good MSS. of the Byzantine group. In essentials the Byzantine MSS. might be the more correct, and yet Codex D is older, its orthography and style are older and its text is of much greater critical value, because often from the obvious mistakes of an early uncorrected text we may gather what was originally written; while the plausible correction of a copyist or editor destroys the traces of the earlier reading.

VIII. THE TENSES.

In the Samuel-text there are thirty-six changes of tenses, in the Psalm-text thirty-three, and in sixteen cases one text has a change of tense where the other has not; in most instances this difference depends on the insertion or omission of a Waw Conversive (Consecutive). Though the number of changes is so nearly the same in the two texts, yet there seem to be traces of an attempt in the Psalm-text to reduce the variety in the tenses. For instance, in vs. 38, 39 in the Samuel-

text there are five changes of tenses, and in the Psalm-text none. In other cases it seems as if some copyist of the Psalms had begun by altering a tense so as to avoid a change, but had neglected to change the connected tenses; for instance in v. 7 a change of tense is avoided in Ps. xviii. by reading **יִשְׁמַע** for **וַיִּשְׁמַע**, but a fresh change is introduced by reverting to the tense of Samuel in **וַתִּגְעַשׂ** of v. 8. Similarly with **יִרְעֶם**, **וַיִּרְעֶם** and **יִתֵּן** of v. 14.

In the LXX. and the Latin versions the changes are much fewer. This seems to be the result of a struggle between a desire to represent the Hebrew tenses accurately and a sense of what was due to Greek and Latin idiom. The changes of tense that do occur in these versions mostly coincide with changes in the original.

IX. WAW (ESPECIALLY CONVERSIVE OR CONSECUTIVE).

The number of variations, that consist in the omission or insertion of a Waw, is specially noticeable.

Out of thirty-three Waws prefixed to tenses twenty-five occur in both texts, six in Samuel only, two in Ps. xviii. only; out of thirty-three Waws prefixed to other words twenty-seven occur in both texts, one in Samuel only, five in Ps. xviii. only.¹ Of the eight Waws prefixed to tenses omitted in one text or the other five are immediately followed by Yodh.

These facts show a special tendency to vary in the matter of Waws, most frequently in the case of Waws prefixed to tenses. A similar frequency of variation, in a somewhat smaller degree, occurs in New Testament texts in the case of *καὶ*, *δὲ*, *γὰρ*, etc. The greater frequency of variation between our texts may be accounted for by the opportunity afforded by change of *Scriptio*, the similarity and insignificance of ׀ and ׁ in square characters, and possibly (see above) by a tendency to alter tenses. The result seems to be that in the Old Testament we may add to the usual carelessness about conjunctions, an additional liability to variation arising from the above causes.

Such a result would have some bearing on the theory of the Hebrew Tenses, because the presence or absence of a Waw may make all the difference between an easy or a difficult construction. In some cases, for instance, in the historical books, where the long succession of narrative tenses, construable according to the old view as pasts, is broken by an isolated tense which should according to the old view be translated as a future, but can only be translated as a past, in such cases the difference might be due to the loss of a Waw.²

¹ This reckoning excludes cases where the omission or insertion of ׀ is due to an alteration in the context or structure of the rest of a sentence, and among these the ׀ of ׀׀׀ in v. 26 is excluded. But it includes the ׀ before **בְּרָקִים** in v. 15, before **אֲשֵׁנִים** and its parallel in v. 38. The ׀ before **וַיִּרְבֶּר** and its parallel in v. 48 is reckoned as a ׀ before a tense.

² E. g., **תִּשְׁחָת** Exod. viii. 20.

X. SUBJECTIVE CRITICISM.

A study of the critics who deal with this question shows how widely such doctors disagree on questions as to the merits of a passage or its harmony with the context. For instance, Ewald speaks of the Psalm-reading in v. 2, אֶרְחֹמֶךָ יְהוָה חֲזִקִי as "so peculiarly appropriate that we cannot see why it should be wanting in Samuel except through a copyist's mistake;" Lengerke, however, who in many respects follows Ewald, calls it "Inanis...et frigidus versiculus." So again Ewald says of the Samuel-reading "יָמוּסִי" etc. in v. 3 "certainly preserved in its entirety in Samuel; for מִשְׁגָּבִי stands in the Psalm quite abruptly and confusedly;" according to Hupfeld the Samuel-reading is "very superfluous." Again as to the various readings in v. 28, Sam. וְעֵינַיָּךְ עַל רָמִים ת', Ps. וְעֵינַיָּם רָמוֹת תִּשְׁפִּיל, Hupfeld speaks of the Samuel-reading as "sinnlose," while according to Delitzsch it is "eine der sinnreichsten Varianten."

In more purely critical questions there is more agreement, or at any rate it is more easy to understand why the critics differ.

In this connection Ewald's exhaustive denunciation of most other commentators in the introduction to his work on the Psalms is interesting; and we feel that there is something of poetic justice in the reference to Ewald as an "over-rated scholar" in a well-known Cambridge work on the Psalms.¹

This "disagreement of doctors" lends some support to the student's natural inclination to protest against the right of a German or English critic of the nineteenth century to decide dogmatically what was appropriate or in good taste for David ten centuries before Christ.

XI. CANONS OF CRITICISM.

We have attempted to show that the variations between these two texts may, at any rate in most cases, be arranged under the same head as the variations of Greek Testament MSS. It may also be interesting to notice in what cases the canons of Greek Testament criticism would at first sight be applied and how far they would hold.

We take first the canon: *Brevior lectio anteponenda verbosiori*. The cases where this might be used are where one text contains words omitted by the other; or contains a shorter text as מַעֲזִי חֵיל of Sam. XXII. 33, and כָּרַךְ of Sam. XXII. 15. However, this canon does not seem to be appealed to by critics, probably because they felt that the influence of possible mutilation and carelessness renders it inoperative.

Again: *Proclivi lectioni præstat ardua*. The character of the difference between the two texts affords ample scope for the application of this canon, and if it be admitted it will be decisive for the originality of the general style and form

¹ Jennings and Lowe, i. 70.

of the Samuel-text, though in some instances, as in **וידא** Ps. XVIII. 11, it would favor the Psalm-text.

Again: That reading is to be preferred which will explain the origin of the variations. Amongst other readings where this canon might be applied perhaps the best case is in v. 15, where the reading **וברקים ברק** would serve to explain the Samuel-text **ברק**, the Psalm-text **וברקים רב**; the variant in Ps. CXLIV. 6 **ברק ברוק** and the LXX. *καὶ ἡστραψεν ἀστραπήν*.

Again in I. B. 3 (γ), there are cases to which we might apply the canon that in parallel passages a verbal dissidence rather than a verbal concordance is to be preferred. But it is doubtful whether the parallels are not too short, and consequently too little conspicuous, to have excited the harmonizing tendencies of copyists.

MENE, TEKEL, PERES, AND THE FEAST OF BELSHAZZAR.

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Among the enigmatical passages of the Old Testament, there is possibly none which has stimulated to a higher point the curiosity of the exegetes, and provoked more numerous and more divergent comments than the one which contains, in the account of the feast of Belshazzar, these three mysterious words, popularized in the form Mene, Tekel, Peres,—a form which has originated from the ancient Greek and Latin versions of the Aramean Book of Daniel.

Without making a pretence of giving a decisive solution of this philological problem, I wish to try to place it in new terms by introducing an element which—as far as my knowledge goes—has not yet been considered, and which seems to me to play an essential role. I hasten to say that the considerations which are to follow are independent of the question yet under discussion, of the real date of the Book of Daniel, of its historic value and of the environment to which the author may have belonged; they will preserve their import, if indeed any be accorded them, in each of the more or less plausible systems between which, in that respect, modern criticism is divided.

I.

Every one recalls the truly thrilling picture in which the biblical writer paints for us this supernatural manifestation of divine judgment followed, with so brief delay, by its execution.¹

In the midst of a grand feast, the sumptuousness of which has passed into a proverb, Belshazzar, king of Chaldea, gives the order to bring the vessels of gold and silver of Jehovah, taken from the temple in Jerusalem by his father Nebuchadnezzar, and in company with his guests, male and female, drinks from them in honor of the gods of Babylon. At this moment he sees a hand appear before the candelabra which lighted this impious orgie, a hand which writes upon the plaster of the wall of the hall some incomprehensible words. Terrified by this prodigy, the king summons immediately his astrologers and diviners, and promises them the highest rewards if they succeed in deciphering this inscription and furnishing the interpretation. But all the science of the Chaldean Magi remains in default. The queen arrives and counsels the king to summon Daniel, who had given proof of his wisdom under Nebuchadnezzar, and had been made by him chief of the astrologers and diviners.

¹ Daniel v.

Daniel is brought before the king; and after recalling the misdeeds of Nebuchadnezzar and sharply admonishing the son, worthy of him, despiser of Jehovah, he continues in these words:

24 Then was the part of the hand sent from before them, and this writing
25 was inscribed. And this is the writing that was inscribed,

מֵנָּה מֵנָּה תֶּקֶל וּפְרָסִין

měnē mēnē tēqēl û-pharsîn

26 This is the interpretation of the thing: Mēnē, God hath numbered (mēnāh)
27 thy kingdom, and brought it to an end. Tēqēl, thou art weighed (tēqîltâ)
28 in the balances, and art found wanting. Pērēs, thy kingdom is divided¹
(pērîsât) and given to the Medes and Persians (Pārās).

Upon this Belshazzar accords to Daniel the promised rewards (though the latter, according to the account, had begun with a refusal of them); that very night he is slain, and Darius the Mede seizes the kingdom.

It is clearly shown from this story that the task incumbent on the interpreter of these prophetic words was double; it was a question first of deciphering, then of explaining them. It would be idle and, in any case, it will not be in my plan to search for what cause the decipherment presented a particular difficulty. Was it a question, in the thought of the author, of an unknown writing, or simply of an unaccustomed disposition of known characters? The rabbins are pronounced in favor of the second hypothesis and, giving free rein to their imagination,² have assumed that either the characters belonged to a cryptographic alphabet *athbash*, i. e., one in which the first letter has as its equivalent the last:

ט	מ	ח	ג	ר	פ	ך	ד	א	ת	ט	י
ז	י	ס	ר	פ	ו	ל	ק	ת	א	נ	מ

Or that the letters, arranged in three lines in a sort of table, had to be read vertically and not horizontally:

ס	ו	ת	מ	מ
י	פ	ק	נ	נ
ז	ר	ל	א	א

Some seem to have also thought of a real anagram,³ which may be represented thus:

ניסרפולקתאנמאנס

I do not insist upon these more or less dangerous conjectures, the last of which is perhaps the most plausible, since it is more simple than the first and has the advantage over the second that it might have appeared in the manuscripts without breaking in an offensive manner the regularity of the lines.

¹ Or, as some critics translate, *broken, destroyed*.

² See, for example, J. Levy, *Neuhebraeisches und Chaldaeisches Woerterbuch*, under the words יסתר, ארין, אאלרין.

³ See Levy, *op. cit.*, § 5, אנס.

I only mention them as a matter of curiosity, although we shall be able further on to draw from them an indirect argument. I will devote myself exclusively to the question of interpretation. A circumstance by which we cannot fail to be struck, but to which we possibly do not accord all the importance which it merits, is that the interpretation attributed to Daniel does not agree rigorously with his decipherment.

This agreement exists only in the Greek and Latin translations. These translations in verse 25, after the phrase "this is the writing that was inscribed," substitute for the five words of the original Aramean text *mēnē mēnē tēqēl u-phārsîn*, the transcription *μάνη, τεκελ, φάρες, mane, thekel, phares*, of the three words *mēnē, tēqēl, parsîn* which stand only in verses 26, 27 and 28 of the original, verses which have for their object the giving of the signification.

Hebraists, guided by the Massoretic vocalization, which is not, be it said in passing, without singular anomalies,¹ are generally agreed in recognizing that the five words of verse 25 ought to be rendered literally as participles, numbered, numbered, weighed and they are dividing;² accepting as well founded this translation which, even from the grammatical point of view, does not escape from all criticism, and which yields in any case, we must confess, a phrase partly incoherent, we see that the interpretation given by Daniel to the following verses, regards neither the repetition of the first word *mēnē*, nor the plural form of the last word *parsîn*, preceded by the conjunction ׀ "and." The biblical writer is content to draw from this whole the three essential words, in attaching them to a uniform grammatical type.

mēnē "numbered"

tēqēl "weighed"

*pērēs*³ "divided."

He then draws from it, by one of those *jeux d'esprit*, of which the Bible offers many examples, the significations appropriate to the situation which he has in view.

He proceeds for this purpose with a mechanical method, so to speak, which is seen clearly by this simple synoptic table :

INTERPRETATION OF THE SECOND DEGREE.	EXPLANATION OF THE FIRST DEGREE.	WORD TO BE EXPLAINED.
והשלמה	מנא-אלהא מלכותך	מנא 1
והשתכחת חסיר	תקלתא במאזניא	תקל 2
ויהיבת למדי ופרס	פריסת מלכותך	פרס 3

¹ Particularly for the word תקל, which, it is supposed, ought to be equivalent to תקיל. Other commentators, without stopping at the vocalization, translate the words as verbs in the Preterite and present Participle: *numeravit, numeravit, appendit et dividunt*. (Buxtorf, Lex. s. v. תקל.)

² Or "they are breaking," according to some exegetes. I believe that the sense of dividing is preferable, and my theory tends, as will be seen, to confirm this last meaning of the root פרס.

³ The same reservation is to be made on the vocalization of this word as upon that of *tēqēl*.

- | | | | | |
|---------------|---|--|---|--|
| 1. NUMBERED : | { | God has <i>numbered</i>
thy kingdom | } | and has finished it. |
| 2. WEIGHED : | { | thou hast been <i>weighed</i>
in the balances | } | and hast been found wanting in
(weight). |
| 3. DIVIDED : | { | thy kingdom has been
<i>divided</i> | } | and has been given to the Mede
and the <i>Persian</i> . |

This rational analysis shows clearly that every one of the three parallel phrases is divided into parts rigorously symmetrical :

1. The word to be explained.
2. A literal explanation of the word, presenting this word at the head of the phrase, in different grammatical states.
3. A second interpretation following the first, a kind of paraphrase, at once larger and more precise, of the literal explanation to which it is uniformly attached by the conjunction "and." The last word *peres*, furnished even to the author an opportunity for a veritable *doublet* applying in the explanation of the first degree to the verb *peras*, "to divide," and in the interpretation of the second degree, to the name of the "Persians" (*Pārās*). Why, therefore, does not verse 25, giving the decipherment of the mysterious inscription, contain in place of the words *měnē*, *měnē*, *těqēl u-pharsin*, purely and simply the three words *měnē*, *těqēl*, *pěrēs*, upon the interpretation of which verses 26, 27 and 28 exclusively revolve?

This question is so natural that the ancient Greek and Latin translators have made no scruple of replying in their way by modifying, as we have seen, the original text of verse 25 in the sense indicated by the logic. They may besides have been influenced by another motive, if the manuscript which they had before their eyes presented the characters composing the phrase in an odd disposition, difficult of reproduction, and similar to those pointed out above, of which the rabbins speak.

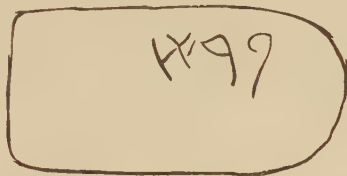
However that may be, this divergence between the deciphered and the interpreted text can scarcely be conceived unless one admits that the biblical author had to do, not with simple words, but rather with a given and prescribed phrase consecrated by tradition, from which he must produce, by alliterations and allusions, certain significations adapted to the circumstances which preoccupied him, i. e., the coming of the Persians.

I will return immediately to this point, which is properly the knot of the question, and, following the example of the author himself, and of the ancient translators, will occupy myself, for the moment, only with the three words *měnē*, *těqēl*, *pěrēs*, separated from their connection, reserving for later consideration the entire phrase of verse 25.

II.

In 1878, in the course of an epigraphic mission, which had been entrusted to me by the Minister of Public Instruction on account of the Committee of the

Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum, I had occasion to study in the British Museum the important set of bronze lion weights, from Nineveh, many of which have bilingual inscriptions in Assyrian and Aramean. One of these weights particularly attracted my attention. It is the one upon which is engraved an Aramean word, up to that time generally read קדש, "holy," which was considered an indication of a "weight of the sanctuary" in opposition to the standard weight. A minute examination convinced me that the word ought to be read, in reality, פֶּרֶשׁ paraš or paras "half, moiety."



This is confirmed by the casts brought back by me at that time, which have been placed in the cabinet of the Committee of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, thus permitting a control of the exactness of this reading.¹

The lion which bears this inscription having weight perceptibly equal to that of a half of the light mina, it was evident that we had to consider this word paraš, "half," directly as the denomination itself of a fixed ponderal quantity, viz., the half-mina.² The Assyrian and, as we shall presently see, the Hebrew-Aramean agree in confirming this reading. Immediately a comparison arose in my mind, that we find in the set of weights from Nineveh, engraved in Aramaicising characters, in a language approaching to Hebrew, the three names of weights,

מנה mānē the mina.

שֶׁקֶל šéqēl, the shekel.

פֶּרֶשׁ phārāš, the half-mina.

and that by a coincidence, truly singular, these three names correspond in a remarkable manner to the Aramean words of the text of Daniel, mēnē, tēkēl, pērēs. The slight orthographical differences presented by the Aramean forms are all rigorously explained by the well known peculiarities of Aramean compared with Hebrew :

¹ M. Oppert had already recognized the true reading of this word, applied also to Assyrian measures of length, as is evident from the following passage of his memoir upon the Assyrian standard measures and weights: "The words paras and sīnīp are found transcribed in Aramean characters" (*Journ. Asiat.*, 1874, t. II. p. 431).

² The light mina is half of the heavy mina.

³ The word appears in the plural on the weights שקליו.

The ה of מנה becomes normally א = מנא¹ mānā.

The ש of שקל “ “ ת = תקל² tēqal.

The ס of פרס “ “ ס = פרס³ pēras.

From this it was only a step to conclude that the names of weights⁴ designating the mina, the shekel and the paraš, or half-mina, might play a role in the text of Daniel. This step I hesitated for a long time to take, and at first contented myself with communicating to some savants a conjecture which pressed and still presses more and more upon me. I do not believe that I ought to withhold it further from criticism, and after having submitted it, to the best of my ability, to the examination of reason, I now give it to criticism, in the hope that perhaps some part of it may be accepted, even if it be not received with all its consequences

III.

I think it will be admitted without much difficulty that the three words of Daniel can correspond term by term to the three names of weights.⁵ Apart from the phonetic equivalences noted above, even the paronomasias, in which the biblical author delights, come to the support of this identification, and serve as an acknowledgment of it. In fact he aims expressly, in his allegorical interpretation, at the roots

מנה or מנא “to number,”
שקל or תקל “to weigh,”
פרס or פרש “to divide,”

to which every one attaches without hesitation the Semitic names of the *mina*, the *shekel* and the *paraš* (peras) or *half-mina*.

If, then, it were truly a question of these three isolated words, if by misfortune the Aramean original of Daniel had been lost and this book had come down to us, like several others of the Old Testament, only by means of the Greek and Latin versions; if, consequently, the phrase was presented to us in the abridged state to which these versions have reduced it, Μάνη, θεκελ, φάρες,⁶ *Mane, thekel,*

¹ The form מנא, *mina*, exists in Aramean.

² Cf. the Aramean תקל, *shekel*.

³ פרס is the *half-mina* in Aramean (פרס של מנת, Buxtorf, *Lex. Chald.*, s. v.). In the language of the Talmud, מנת ופרס, *a mina and a peras*, means *a mina and a half*. In various other passages, given in *Neuhebr. und Chald. Woerterbuch*, Levy's s. v. פרס, these two weights are opposed to one another in a way that leaves no doubt of the value of the pēras = *half-mina*.

⁴ Of weights or of money; for it must not be forgotten that this is all one in the Semitic languages.

⁵ It might be well to note that Flavius Josephus (*Antiquities of the Jews*, X., 11, 3) renders the three words of Daniel not by verbs, but by substantives, ΜΑΝΗ = ἀριθμός *number*; ΘΕΚΕΛ = σταθμός *weight*; ΦΑΡΕΣ = κλάσμα *fragment*.

⁶ It is to be noted, now, that the Greek transcription implies for these words a vocalization differing, in certain points, from that of the Massoretic text, and approaching that which my explanation tends to substitute for it. (See the end of note.)

phares. If, therefore, we had to deal only with these three isolated words, the explanation would offer scarcely any difficulty. It is true also that in this case the coincidence would have only a relative interest, and could be considered an occurrence curious enough, but, after all, of restricted importance.

But the original of Daniel has been happily preserved, and the original gives us, in verse 25, not only the *three* words in question, but a phrase of *five* words, where they play a role which remains to be discovered.

We must inquire whether the introduction of this new element of information in the study of the phrase of verse 25 is not of such a nature as to clear up the whole of this obscure text, and to make us see it in a light very different from that in which it has been habitually regarded up to this time.

Let us admit, for a moment, laying aside the Massoretic vocalization, to which even the most scrupulous philologists are obliged here to do some violence, that it is necessary to read these three isolated words of verses 26, 27, 28, not *mĕnĕ, thĕqĕl, pĕrĕs*, but *mānā, tĕqāl, pĕrās*, i. e., *mina, shekel* and *half-mina*, and let us apply this reading to the same three words in the phrase of verse 25. We shall obtain then for this phrase, *mānā, mānā, thĕqāl, u-phārsîn*, “*mina, mina, shekel and half-shekel*.”

We establish at first that, while the words designating respectively *mina* and *shekel* are in the singular, that which designates *half-mina* is in the plural, פֶּרַסִּין *parsîn*, or *pĕrāsîn*, the regular plural of *pĕras*, פֶּרַס. This implies already between the first and last word of the phrase, between the *mina* and the *half-mina*, a significant opposition which ought to serve us as a first luminous point in the darkness in which we are gropingly advancing. But we do not yet hold the key of the riddle.

The literal translation “*mina, mina, shekel and half-minas*” does not give us a sense much less disconnected than that of the received translation. It has, however, the advantage over this of showing us some elements pertaining to an order of ideas clearly characterized. But we do not yet see in what manner these elements ought to be combined, in order to form a logical whole, a connected, moving, living phrase. We possess them, so to speak, in a static state, it remains for us to put them in a dynamic state, and to discover whether these words, in place of being simply placed side by side, are not in reality united among themselves by grammatical functions. In this consists the real problem for solution.

Although in Aramean several substantives may follow each other in an enumeration without the interposition of the conjunction “and,” employed in similar cases in Hebrew, it is scarcely probable, *a priori*, that this succession of words here constitutes a simple statement of weights, such as: “a mina, a mina, a shekel and some pheras.”

IV.

Let us pause at the first word: *Mānā*. It is twice repeated: *Mānā, mānā*. Is this, then, a simple repetition, *mina, mina*, with which we have to do, a rhetorical figure, or, on the contrary, a phenomenon of syntax?

In Aramean and in general in the Semitic languages, the repetition of the same substantive, without the intervention of any other word, is a grammatical process capable of expressing different things: e. g., the idea of a great quantity, when the substantives are in the plural,—*בִּירִין בִּירִין* *pits, pits*, i. e., “nothing but pits,” Gen. xiv. 10; but here *mānā* being in the singular, the idea of plurality ought, it seems to me, to be put aside; or the idea of partition, which is expressed by our word *every*,—*עֲרָא עֲרָא* *flock, flock*, i. e., “every flock by itself,” Gen. xxxii. 16; *עַמָּא עַמָּא* *people, people*, i. e., “every people;” *גִּבֹּר גִּבֹּר* *man, man*, i. e., “any man,” Num. ix. 10, etc.; or moreover an idea of distribution, an idea connected with the preceding,—*דִּנָּר דִּנָּר* *denarius, denarius*, i. e., “every one a denarius;” *שְׁנֵי שְׁנֵי* *two, two*, i. e., “two by two;” *מֵאָה מֵאָה* *hundred, hundred*, i. e., “by hundreds,” Mark vi. 40, etc.; finally, an idea of diversity,—*עֲוִיל עֲוִיל* *evil, evil*, i. e., “different evils,” Mk. ii. 17; *לִשָּׁנָה לִשָּׁנָה* *tongue, tongue*, i. e., “different tongues,” John v. 4; Acts x. 46, etc. In all these cases the repeated substantive remains in the singular. This is the case in this passage. We might, then, endeavor to see if these words *מִנָּה מִנָּה* *mina, mina*, would not signify, in the phrase of Daniel, of which they form the commencement, something like “every mina, mina by mina, mina to mina, by every mina, for every mina,” or even “different minas.” But there is still another possible manner, and one well conformed to the Semitic genius, of construing these two consecutive words, *mānā, mānā*; that is, to regard the first as subject and the second as attribute of a small phrase where the verb *to be* is understood: *mina (is) mina*, i. e., *a mina (is) a mina*; as in Hebrew also *יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי* *Jehovah my God*, i. e., “Jehovah is my God.” But we will leave provisionally this question in suspense, and reserving equally the word *tēqal*, which comes after, pass immediately to the last word of the phrase, *פַּרְסִין*, *parsîn*.

V.

Pārsîn, or *phērāsîn*, has the proper form of a plural. But is it really a plural? The *peras* is, as we have seen, a “half-mina;” i. e., to make one mina, two *peras* are necessary. Given the presence, at the beginning of the phrase, of the word *mānā*, “mina” in the singular, nothing would be more tempting, if we had before us a Hebrew and not an Aramean text, than to ask if, in place of the plural, we have not here a dual, which is distinguished, as we know, only by a very slight vocalic variation, perceptible only in the Massoretic pointing; and if, in place of reading *parsîn half-minas*, we ought not to read *parsain two half-minas*.

It is true that Aramean seems to have allowed the dual to fall into disuse; and that is a serious objection. It has, however, preserved some traces of it which appear in the very language of the book of Daniel: כִּידַיִן¹ *in the two hands*, רַגְלַיִן² *the two feet*, שִׁנַּיִן³ *the teeth* (considered as distributed in two rows). Syriac has preserved the form of the dual in the numerals: ܐܬܝܢ *two* (masculine), ܐܬܝܬܝܢ *two* (feminine), ܡܠܬܝܢ *two hundred*; and in the geographical name ܡܝܨܪܝܢ *Egypt*, an imitation of the Hebrew מִצְרַיִם. At any rate, there is a passage in Daniel⁴ where it seems that the plural has at least the function of the dual:

עַר-עַרְן וְעַרְנִין וְכַלְגַּ עַרְן

to a time, times and half a time.

'İddānīn *times* can only be the equivalent of 'İddānāin *two times*,⁵ in this phrase which, from the declarations of all the exegetes, contains the precise indication of a period of time numerically determined,—a year, two years and a half year, i. e., three years and a half.

Consequently, even according to the Massoretic vocalization of the word פָּרְסִין *parsin*, all the respect which it perhaps does not deserve, we find ourselves sufficiently protected by this precedent to attribute to פָּרְסִין the value of *parsain*, and to translate by *two peras* or *two half-minas*, if the context points in that direction.

VI.

The word *parsin*, or *parsain*, is preceded in the text of Daniel by a ו, representing, as every one admits, the conjunction *and*. If this word *parsin*, which closes the phrase, is indeed a substantive, it is to be supposed that the word תֶּ֫עֳלֵל, to which it is bound by the conjunction, ought to be a word of the same nature as it, i. e., another substantive. We have already shown that תֶּ֫עֳלֵל or תֶּ֫עֳלַל⁶ is a rigorously exact equivalent of the Hebrew substantive שֶׁ֫קֶל *šéqēl*, designating the "shekel." Under these conditions the phrase to be explained could strictly end תֶּ֫קֶל וּפְרָסִין *a shekel and two pheras*.

But it will scarcely be perceived by what association of ideas a shekel (the word is in the singular), which is a very small fraction of a mina (the sixtieth or the hundredth, according to the system), is found in this brief phrase placed with two *peras*, the *peras* being half of the mina. Supposing even that it is a question of a simple enumeration of certain weights (which is scarcely probable), one

¹ Daniel ii. 34.

² *Id.*, vii. 4.

³ *Id.*, vii. 7.

⁴ *Id.*, vii. 25.

⁵ In spite of the fact that, in the corresponding passage of chapter xii. (verse 7) of the Hebrew part of the Book of Daniel, עַרְנִין is servilely rendered by the plural מִן־עַרְנִים, and not by the dual מִן־עַרְנִים.

⁶ This is the form which the segholate substantives of Hebrew take in Aramean: *késēph silver* becomes *kēsāph*.

would expect to find those weights enumerated in an order regularly increasing or decreasing,¹ and to see the lighter weight, the shekel, named after the pēras, as it is after the mina. How shall we escape this difficulty, which seems inextricable? It consists entirely in the presence of the ך, which, coupled with the word parsin, can certainly only be the conjunction *and*.

But is the ך really in its place? Does it really belong at the beginning of the word parsin, which follows it? Might it not perhaps belong to the end of the word tēqēl, which precedes? Ought we not to regard with caution the way in which our editions cut this phrase, a phrase which early became enigmatical. The usage of the *scriptio continua*, which is a proved fact in ancient biblical manuscripts, authorizes us to ask if the compact group of letters, in place of being cut into תקל ופרסין, ought not to be תקלו פרסין.

In this case the ך would become an integral part of the word tēqēl, and we should be freed from this conjunction *and*.

If there was any foundation for the hypothesis, which the rabbins, to explain the difficulty of decipherment, have put forth on the unusual disposition of the characters of the inscription, we could draw from them an argument to render still more admissible the very slight fault of the copyist. The biblical texts show greater ones than this.

We can see, in fact, that, for example, in the arrangement in three vertical columns explained above, the ך which is at the head of the fourth column is forcibly separated from תקל and placed near פרסין.

The anagrammatical arrangement which I have described as likewise possible, and which has perhaps really existed in certain ancient manuscripts, would also be able to favor the mistake.

VII.

The ך being attached to the word תקל, the arrangement of the phrase is entirely changed. What can תקלו be? If we were working upon a territory purely Hebrew, one could see in this ך the pronominal suffix *o* of the third person of the masculine singular joined to a substantive. Tēqēl could be taken rigorously

¹ It is this which had prompted me to ask for a moment if *peras*, the proper sense of which is "half," did not designate, in place of the *half-mina*, a very small weight, such as the *half-shekel* (the Hebrew בקע, bēqā'), or even the *obol*. But I do not believe that it is necessary to pause with this idea, the sense of *half-mina* for *peras* being too categorically established by the Assyrian and Aramean lexicons, and confirmed by the weight itself of the lion bearing the inscription paraš, a weight which is sensibly that of the weak *half-mina*. I ought to recall, however, that the Greek version of the LXX., in disagreement on this point with the version of Theodotion, followed by the Vulgate, and with the original Aramean itself, places these three words in an order which would be more conformed to the hypothesis of a regularly decreasing enumeration, Μάνη, Φάρες, Θεκέλ. But the version of the LXX. offers for the whole Book of Daniel such divergences from the original, it is so plainly removed from it, that it is not necessary to pay any attention to this variant, and that it would be imprudent to lend it here, against documents infinitely superior, an authority which, from antiquity, has been properly refused it.

in the general meaning of weight, which is the primitive sense of the name of shekel, although we should rather expect, in this case, the derived form **מתקל** (**מישהל**) *mathqal*. The expression would then signify, *his weight is two peras*, which, compared with the expression **מנא מנא**, considered as intended to mean *a mina is a mina*, would furnish a sense sufficiently plausible: "a mina is a mina; its weight is two peras" (in other words, two half-minas).

In place of being a nominal suffix, the ך restored to *těqāl* could be also—continuing always to reason from the point of view of Hebrew—a verbal suffix, the verb **תקל**, *těqāl*, the equivalent of **שקל**, *šāqāl*, signifying "to weigh." It would then be with a verb and not with a substantive which is derived from it, and which designates the shekel, that we have to do.¹ In this case the little phrase could be translated: "he has weighed it," or, "weigh it," according as we read **תקלו** in the Preterite or **תקלו** in the Imperative.

But we must reject these hybrid forms. We have to deal with a text too thoroughly Aramean to permit us to treat the ך as a suffix in the Hebrew manner, replacing the Aramean forms **ה** and **יהי**.²

In Aramean the ך of **תקלו** could only be the product of a verbal inflection. Two forms are possible:

either **תקלו** "they have weighed;"
or **תקלו** "weigh"

תקלו becomes then the direct object of **פרסין**.

If *těqāl* is a verb in the second member of the phrase, one would be led to infer that in the first member **מנא** = *měnā* is equally a verb and that there is a parallelism in the employment of the two correlative verbs *měnā mānā*, *těqāl ū pārsain* "he has counted a mina [and] they have weighed two peras. But it seems then that the two members of the phrase, thus opposed the one to the other, ought to be connected by the preposition ך, *and*; I deem it wise to resist the temptation to make the ך which is between *těqāl* and *pārsain* serve for this purpose, making it leap over *těqāl*, to place it before it, although by this adventurous expedient one would obtain a rather tempting balance *měnā mānā*, (u-) *těqāl pārsain*, "he has counted a mina and weighed two peras;" or in the Imperative³ *měnē mānā*, (u-) *těqul pārsain*, "count a mina and weigh two peras." I should not like to go that far. Contenting myself with the

¹ The transcription *Mávñ, θεκῆλ, φάρες*, whatever may be the absolute value in the point of view of the original vocalization, implies at least a relative difference between these three words. *Mávñ* and *φάρες*, forming a group characterized by the vowel *a* of the first syllable, different from *θεκῆλ*, the first syllable of which has an *e* in place of an *a*. If the translator had considered **תקל** as of the same grammatical form as **מנא** and **פרס**, he ought, it seems, to have transcribed it *θάκελ*, and not *θεκέλ*. One sees that this distinction corresponds plainly to that to which I find myself led in regarding **מנא** and **פרס** as substantives, and **תקל** as a verb.

² But we find in Daniel the form **ס** (chap. iv., verses 15, 16).

³ **מנא** for **מני** or **מני**.

simple glide of the ך, I accept the reading תִּקְלוּ, a word which signifies "they have weighed" in the Preterite or "weigh" in the Imperative.

If this verb was in the Preterite, by making use of the different meanings, enumerated above, of which this reading מִנָּה מִנָּה, mina mina, is susceptible, we arrive at the following combinations:

1st By taking פֶּרְסִין as a plural: "mina by mina, they have weighed the peras."

2d By taking פֶּרְסִין as a dual: "for every mina, they have weighed two peras."

If the verb תִּקְלוּ was the Imperative, the combinations would be:

1st "mina by mina weigh the peras."

2d "for every mina weigh two peras."

3d "a mina is a mina, weigh two peras!"

It would be easy to multiply these combinations.

For example, accepting the conjecture which a number of qualified exegetes have supported, viz., that תִּקְלוּ is for תִּקְלִי = תִּקְלִי weighed, in the past Participle passive, one could translate, according to the Aramean rule which forms with the Participle Pē'il a real inflective Preterite passive, תִּקְלוּ (= תִּקְלִי) by *have been weighed*, and consider the two members of the phrase as constituted thus:

מִנָּה מִנָּה *has been counted a mina, or*

מִנָּה מִנָּה *he has counted a mina;*

תִּקְלוּ פֶּרְסִין *have been weighed two peras.*

We may compare, in this respect, another passage of Daniel:¹

דִּנָּה יָתֵב וְסִפְרִין פְּתִיחוּ *the judgment was set and the books were opened.*

VIII.

But I pause in this track, where I leave to philologists more minute than I the task of pushing it further. It suffices me to point it out to them, and I shall content myself for the present with this conclusion: The two extreme and essential terms of the phrase in Daniel are two names of weights of which one is double the other, placed in relation by a third middle term, which is either a third name of weight (that of *shekel*), or the verb *to weigh*, from which the name of *shekel* is derived.

Across the last doubts which may still obscure the precise sense of the phrase so understood, one easily catches the movement and is conscious of the aroma of a sort of proverbial sentence, or popular saying, revolving upon the relation of the mina to the half-mina² and belonging perhaps to that order of

¹ vii. 10. Verse 24 of the passage which we are studying, furnishes itself an example of this construction, and that exactly with the inversion of the verb and subject which we have here: שְׁלִיחַ פָּסָא דִּי-יֵרָא וְכַתְּבָא דִּנְא רְשִׁים, "the hand has been sent and this writing has been traced." The same, in verse 28: פְּרִיסַת מְלָכוּתֵךְ, "thy kingdom has been divided."

² Possibly by allusion to the difference between the light and the heavy mina, which ought to be divided the one and the other into two corresponding peras in the same proportional relation of 1 to 2.

ideas with which our modern locutions are connected, such as: "two make a pair," "two and two make four," "six of one and half a dozen of the other," etc. We may also compare for this image of isoropy, of equipoise, employed to express by analogy the idea of equivalence or the identity of two things, the Greek expressions: Εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν τιθέναι πλάστιγγα, ἰσόρροπον πλάστιγγα ἔχειν, ἰσόρροπον πλάστιγγα ταλαντεύεσθαι.

It is very remarkable that these two words of *mānē* and *pērās*, "mina and half-mina," opposed, as here, to each other, are directly employed by the Talmudic authors in a metaphorical and proverbial manner well adapted to confirm that impression, at the same time coming to the support of the paremiological value which I propose to give them in the Book of Daniel. To the rabbins a son who is worth less than his father is a *pērās*, son of a *mānē*, פֶּרַס בֶּן מִנָּה; a son who is worth more than his father is a *mānē*, son of a *pērās*, מִנָּה בֶּן פֶּרַס; a son who is worth as much as his father, a *mānē* son of a *mānē*, מִנָּה בֶּן מִנָּה.¹ It is not impossible that there was some allusion of this kind in the intention of the biblical author borrowing this aphorism from the wisdom of nations.

It is this which seems to come out of the long discourse with which Daniel introduces his interpretation. This discourse is divided into two parts: the first recalls the faults, followed by repentance, of Nebuchadnezzar, father of Belshazzar; the second, which sums up those of Belshazzar, begins with this apostrophe, "And thou, Belshazzar, his son, hast not humbled thy heart,"² etc., an apostrophe which emphasizes well the desire of the author to establish a parallel between the father and son.

IX.

Some may perhaps consider it strange that this phrase written by a celestial hand on the wall of Belshazzar's festal hall, that this sentence of the destiny that ruled the lot of the last king of Chaldea, should be finally reduced to a simple saying, and to a saying so commonplace, so prosaic, that it might have been quite as well scrawled on any wall by the hand of the first malcontent, and might belong to this "wall" literature, not very lofty, which belongs to all times and to all peoples.³

¹ See the examples in J. Levy, *op. cit.*, under the words פֶּרַס and מִנָּה. So the two celebrated Moabites, the prophet Balaam and the king Balaq were both of them a "mina daughter (son) of a half-mina," since they were said to be greater than their respective fathers. Compare also in the same order of ideas, the proverbial locutions: חֵלֶא בֶר חֲמָרָא "vinegar son of the wine;" אֲרִי בֶן אֲרִי "lion, son of lion," and אֲרִי בֶן סִיעָל "lion, son of the jackal."

² Verse 22.

³ The exegetes who have believed that they recognized in the feast of Belshazzar certain personal allusions to the deeds of Antiochus IV., Epiphanes,—e. g., to the sumptuous and dissolute feasts given by Antiochus to Daphné (Hitzig, *Das Buch Daniel*, p. 78),—admit, without difficulty, I believe, the adaptation of some popular scoff directed at that bitter enemy of the Jews who had pillaged the treasure of the temple and who also, having taken refuge at Babylon after the check experienced at Elymais, had been chastised by the hand of the Persians, con-

To this objection it would be easy to reply by citing the analogy of certain oracles of pagan antiquity, which are distinguished by their strangeness and by their intended platitude. And besides, in the case of Daniel, is it not exactly this contrast, this disproportion between the littleness of the means and the grandeur of the intention, which was the better fitted to strike vividly the imagination? What, in fact, is the scope of this story in which the author proposes to show the fall of the empire of Chaldea? Belshazzar casts defiance at the God of Israel, who replies by a menacing prodigy. A hand sent from above writes upon the wall a phrase which all of the most skilled wise men of Chaldea are not able, with all their science, to read or to explain. Is this phrase, then, something impenetrable, something very abstract? Not the least in the world. It is all simply, as the Israelite prophet establishes, an adage of the common people, a proverb known to all. How easily does this prove the nothingness of this pretended science of the Magi, and gives the measure of this greatly vaunted wisdom which is held in check by so slight a difficulty. The author has a visible tendency to find in default this Chaldean science. In two places already, in the preceding chapters,¹ he has shown the weakness and ignorance of the Magi in their attempts at the interpretation of the two dreams of Nebuchadnezzar, the key to which Daniel alone was able to give. This time the demonstration is decisive. The Magi are not able to recognize in the mysterious inscription a saying which is upon every lip. First result. Yes, but from this profane saying, which, once deciphered, ought, it seems, to be understood by the whole world, Daniel goes on to draw a hidden divine meaning, and to obtain an effect so much the more considerable as it was unexpected. *Vox populi, vox dei*. He takes one by one the words which compose it, and, using one of the favorite methods of the Hebrew prophets, a double sense of these words, by paronomasia he causes some significations appropriate to the events in view to burst forth. The word which lends itself best to this was assuredly the last, *pārsîn* or *parsaîn*, which had the admirable advantage of making possible the most seducing equivocation upon the name of the Persians.

It is not bold to suppose that it is this word which has determined, among all the others, the choice of this saying as a fundamental theme of the prophecy relative to the coming of the Persians and the ruin of the empire of Babylon.

considered as instruments of the divine vengeance (Fl. Josephus, *Antiq. jud.*, XII. 9, 1; Macc., I. 3, 31:6). Compare מְדַבֵּר, *Māvḡ*, and the sobriquet Ἰππιμανής, foolish, furious, into which the official surname of Antiochus, Ἐπιφανής, the illustrious, was corrupted. In this case, the phrase taken as the text of the story of Daniel would be no longer, to speak properly, a proverbial sentence, but a kind of double-faced epigram, borrowed from the actual circumstances of the moment: The *mina* (Antiochus) has counted (and) the *peras* (Perses) have weighed (i. e., payed). It is known that the expedition, as the result of which Antiochus had to succumb, had for its object the recovering of the overdue taxes owing by the Persians. We must not lose sight of the fact that Syriac employs precisely the word ܡܢܐ to designate the tax of which the passage of the Book of Maccabees speaks (I. 3, 29).

¹ Chap. ii. and iv.

The whole of the fifth chapter of Daniel may be considered as the brilliant placing of this subject, to which it serves as a frame, and which remains, in the last analysis, the principal generating element of the whole piece.

X.

I say, the principal element; for it is not the only one. As to the details of this scene, the actors who figure there, the attitudes they take, the roles they play, the accessories which constitute the scenery, it is, I believe, by the iconological method that we must seek an explanation. I understand by iconology, the generation of ideas by figured images, by plastic representations more or less arbitrarily interpreted. If one wishes to understand chap. v. of the Book of Daniel, he must read it again attentively in the light of certain representations of Egyptian and Chaldean origin, which have, in my judgment, exerted a preponderating influence on the mind of the author.

For Egypt, it is the representation, so popular upon bas-reliefs and in the illustrations of the Book of the Dead, of the judgment of souls weighed in the balance, or psychostasy, to which by a very natural association of ideas, the author must have found himself conducted; he has himself made a most direct allusion: "Thou hast been weighed in the balance," says he, "and thou hast been found wanting in weight."

For Chaldea, there is the representation which recurs very frequently upon the cylinders, and which is designated, in default of a better, under the conventional and, I believe, inexact name of "scene of initiation."

If we combine together these two plastic representations, we obtain the very model of the painting of the feast of Belshazzar, with all its details and all its incidents; the king seated upon a throne in the great hall of the feast and drinking from the sacred vessels; the banqueters; the inscription traced upon the wall; the candelabra lighting the scene; the Magi stupefied before the inscription; the queen presenting herself to the king; Daniel introduced in her presence explaining the inscription, and dressed in the insignia promised as his reward.

The best commentary which could be given of the fifth chapter of Daniel would be, on the one side, a vignette from the Book of the Dead, representing Osiris, king of Amenti, seated in state in the great hall of judgment; the forty-two judicial assessors and other infernal personages; the goddess Ma (Goddess of Justice) introducing the dead; Thot, the Lord of the divine words, the scribe of the divine justice, now inscribing, now pronouncing sentence; Horus and Anubis examining the weighed; and on the other side, a cylinder¹ showing us a god seat-

¹ Without pretending that the Assyrian scene called the scene of "initiation," is really congenerous with the Egyptian scene of psychostasy, which is not, however, impossible, I cannot prevent myself from remarking that we find here two characteristic details which recall the Egyptian scene: the monkey, (the cynocephalus symbolizing the equilibrium of the balance), and the object in which M. Lenormant has seen a balance (of the steelyard type), and M. Menant an instrument of numeration, the staff of measuring, symbolizing justice (cf. the goddess Ma and her pen).

ed on a throne, holding in his hand a vase for libations; a grand candelabra; an inscription¹ engraved in the body of the scene; two persons,² one of whom presents the other to the god; other persons in different mysterious attitudes.

And besides, it is not only the episode of the feast of Belshazzar, but also other most prominent episodes of the Book of Daniel, the conception of which is explained to us by iconology: the two dreams of Nebuchadnezzar, the three young Hebrews in the furnace, Daniel in the den of lions; not to speak of the symbolic beasts which people the visions of the prophet and furnish the matter of his apocalyptic visions.

¹ The cuneiform legend of the cylinder serving as a seal.

² One of them is at times certainly a woman.

JEWISH GRAMMARIANS OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

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Biblical exegesis and Hebrew grammar are naturally closely interwoven with one another. While in general the two may and to-day are kept quite distinct, still there are many instances—notably in the thorny field of Hebrew syntax—where the dividing line becomes exceedingly faint, if not entirely wiped out. The bond uniting the two becomes the closer the further back we go, so that, in the period of which these articles treat, it is difficult to separate the Jewish grammarians from the Jewish commentators of the Bible. Works on Hebrew grammar are invariably interspersed, and in general very liberally interspersed, with disquisitions and discussions of a purely exegetical nature, and the interpreter of the biblical text as frequently trespasses on the field of the grammarian.

I.

The middle of the ninth century, in more than one respect, marks a turning-point in the history of the Jews. The contact with Mohammedan civilization and the rise of Karaism succeeded in inaugurating a new period of intellectual activity among them. Just as some thousand years previous, the meeting of the Jews with Grecian culture in Alexandria resulted in that remarkable product, the Hellenic-Judaic literature, so the encounter with Islam in Spain and on the northern coast of Africa gave rise to a rich and valuable literature. The great schism in the Jewish church ascribed to Aven about the year 850 of the common era, gave the fresh current a *fixed* direction. Whatever else Karaism may in the course of time have become, it was at its origin a reaction against the overweening authority which the Talmud had acquired. The watch-cry of the movement was “Return to the Bible.”

But in thus acknowledging the authority of the Bible alone, Karaism—and this was perhaps its most important result—led to a taking up of a sadly neglected study. The Karaites, as well as the upholders of rabbinical tradition, were forced to study the Bible; the former by the sheer necessity of their principles, the latter in order to furnish themselves with weapons against their opponents. For more than five hundred years the Talmud, to the exclusion of the Bible, had engrossed the thought and attention of the Jews. After the final redaction of the Mishna, in the early part of the third century, the laws embodied in that codex formed the subject of discussion in the various talmudical schools from generation to generation. When about the middle of the fifth century these discussions, constituting the so-called Gemara, were in turn also collected and arranged,

it was now the entire Talmud, i. e., the Mishna and Gemara, which furnished the mental food for the Jews.

The Amoraim (speakers), as those rabbis were termed who lived after the redaction of the Mishna in contradistinction to the Tanaim (teachers), were succeeded by the Saburaim (reasoners), who stood in the same relation to the entire Talmud as the Amoraim to the Mishna. But during all this time, the source of all Jewish tradition, the fountain-head of all laws, ceremonial and otherwise, was neglected. The Mishna took the place of the Bible in the eyes of the Amoraim, and the Talmud in turn was the Bible of the Saburaim—the supreme authority. It was quite natural, therefore, that the Bible itself—and consequently classical Hebrew—was but little studied, since it was but little required. The Talmud was the book of life for the Jews. According to its dictates they regulated their conduct. To the Talmud recourse was had in all cases of doubt, and a decision directly or indirectly derived from it was final. With the advent of Karaism the great change occurred. It is a sufficient proof for the assertion that the Karaitic movement was the direct cause of the revival of the study of Hebrew, that the eminent Rabbi, Saadia, or Saadia Gaon,¹ as he is commonly known, who is the greatest opponent of the founder of Karaism, is also the one with whom the new period takes its rise. It is true there is one who precedes Saadia by a few years, and who well deserves a place by his side, viz., Jehudah Ibn Koreish, but his influence on his cotemporaries was exceedingly limited, and it is only the fact that he was so closely followed by a Saadia that saved him from becoming entirely lost to memory. Still, Koreish must not be omitted among the great commentators and grammarians of the Middle Ages. And since, at any rate, he too is, without question, influenced by Karaism, and thus a product of the times, it is but proper to commence with him, although, as already intimated, and as will be shown still more clearly in the course of these articles, Saadia is the real inaugurator of the new period. We might term Jehuda Ibn Koreish a forerunner of it.

II.

Jehuda Ibn Koreish. As is the case with so many of the men of this period who have left their impress on the course of events, we know but little of the life of Ibn Koreish. Through a notice in a grammatical treatise of the famous Abraham Ibn Ezra,² we learn that he was born in Tohart in Morocco. The year of his birth is not known, but from several indications it is clear that he did not live *after* Saadia. Ibn Ezra, in the already quoted passage of Moznaim, which gives a list, chronologically arranged, of prominent Jewish grammarians, indeed places Saadia before Koreish, but this might just as well indicate that Koreish was

¹ Gaon, which is the exact equivalent of the English "Highness," was the title which Saadia bore as the chief of the Talmudical school in Pumbaditha (Babylon).

² Moznaim (Preface).

cotemporary with Saadia, and that the latter takes precedence on account of his greater importance. It is probably the safest to place him between 850 and 900. He wrote a book which he called **אב ואם**, "father and mother," probably of a lexicographical character. The work is, unfortunately, lost, so that we can only conjecture from quotations to be found in later writers what it contained. A second work of his, upon which his fame rests, is a "Letter to the Jewish Congregation of Fez." It is a plea for the study of Hebrew. From this alone it is clear that he stands under the influence of the Karaitic movement. Indeed Pinsker—an authority on the subject—believes that he was a Karaite; but while there are passages in this letter which may be construed as implying a censure of the Rabbanites, this in itself is not sufficient evidence that he was himself a member of the new party. The way in which Ibn Ezra and Menahem ben Saruk, and others who are of the party of tradition, speak of him, makes it very unlikely that he was their opponent in religious views. Ibn Ezra, more especially, who loses no opportunity in dealing a blow at the Karaites, would scarcely have mentioned Jehuda Ibn Koreish at all among the *eminent* grammarians, much less spoken in such terms of praise of him as he does, had he known Koreish to have been one of the "Sadducees" as he ironically terms the Karaites. An important fact which must not be overlooked is that Koreish wrote his letter in Arabic, and that, more than this, he shows the importance of a knowledge of Arabic for the study of Hebrew. He is indeed the first, as far as we know, to advocate the comparison of Hebrew with the cognate tongues, and thus laid the foundation for a method which was perfected by some of his successors. He also urges the congregation in Fez, in the most earnest terms, not to abandon the reading of the Chaldaic translation of the Bible, the so-called Targum—a custom introduced in Palestine when the knowledge of Hebrew could no longer be presupposed among the mass of the population—since the "Syriac," as he calls the dialect of the Targum, is of great importance for the explanation of the Hebrew. The language of the Mishna he also declares to be essential for a thorough training in Hebrew, so that, according to Ibn Koreish, Arabic, Aramaic, and the Mishna, ought to be mastered by every student of the Bible. He then proceeds to substantiate his theory by facts. Numerous instances are given of words which are explained by a reference to their Arabic or Aramaic equivalents, as the case may be. It is interesting to observe that Koreish has already a conception, naturally inexact, of the law of "consonantal transition between the several Semitic languages. Thus, he shows that a Hebrew Zayin becomes in Aramaic a Daleth, e. g., **זמע** is equivalent to **דמעא**. The whole Risalet—as the Arabic title reads—is divided into three divisions besides the introduction; (a) the explanation of difficult Hebrew words occurring in the Bible, by the aid of the Targum, (b) by the aid of Mishna and also Talmud, and (c) a comparison of the Hebrew with the Arabic. It needs scarcely be said that Koreish's comparative philology is of a very primitive kind. His errors are

frequently of a nature which almost every beginner in Hebrew to-day can verify, but that in no way detracts from his chief merit, which lies in having indicated the way to future investigators. He is still groping in the dark, but he is nearing the right road to a systematic study of the knowledge. It is, of course, impossible to estimate what influence his letter exerted upon the congregation at Fez—with whom he must have stood in high favor—or elsewhere. At any rate, its appearance was a sign of the times, and as such the Risalet is not without its importance even to-day. The minds of the Jews had been turned to the Bible through the platform on which Karaism claimed to stand. Jehuda Ibn Koreish showed that the Bible could only be understood—provided the language in which it was written be understood—in the full sense of the word. The fanciful interpretations of the Rabbis and the arbitrary deductions of the Karaites—both doing violence to the spirit of the Hebrew language as well as of the Bible—would vanish before impartial scientific research. This was the profound conviction of Jehuda Ibn Koreish which breathes in the pages of his Risalet. With his great successor, however, the study of Hebrew begins in real earnest, and the results of the renewed intellectual activity in this sphere are soon seen in the remarkable progress which was made in the knowledge of Hebrew grammar and lexicography, and with this, in the interpretation of the Bible.

ON THE ETYMOLOGY OF NEKASIM.

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In four post-exilic passages of the Old Testament we find a word נֶכֶסִּים in the meaning of "riches, wealth," Greek χρήματα, ὑπάρχοντα or ὑπαρξίς. Josh. XXII. 8, it occurs along with מְקִנָּה כֶּסֶף זָהָב נַחֲשֵׁת בְּרִיָּל שְׁלֹמֹת; Eccles. v. 18, we find עֵשֶׂר נֶכֶסִּים וְכָבוֹד; *ibid.* VI. 2, עֵשֶׂר נֶכֶסִּים וְכָבוֹד;¹ so too 2 Chr. I. 11, 12, עֵשֶׂר נֶכֶסִּים וְכָבוֹד.

In the Aramean portions of the Book of Ezra we find for it the form נֶכֶסִּין, constr. נֶכֶסִּי, viz. Ezra VI. 8, מִנֶּכֶסִּי מֶלֶכָא דִּי-מִדַּת עֵבֶר נְהָרָה, *out of the moneys of the king from the tribute of the district Abar-Nahara*, i. e., *west of the Euphrates*; and Ezra VII. 26, עֲנִשׁ נֶכֶסִּין, *confiscation of goods or a fine*, Greek ζημιῶσαι τὰ ὑπάρχοντα.

Usually the stem נֶכֶס is regarded as a metathesis from כָּנַס *to gather together, to heap up*. This explanation is, for example, retained in the latest edition of Gesenius' Lexicon. Friedrich Delitzsch, on the other hand, thinks (p. 181, n. 1 of his *Prolegomena*) that the word is probably connected with Assyrian nikâsu, which, according to its etymology (?), as well as its ideogram (?), means something assigned to some one either as a possession or as a deposit.

To this I should like to remark, in the first place, that the long â, in Delitzsch's transcription nikâsu, does not seem to me to be certain. As far as I know, the

¹ LXX.: πλοῦτος καὶ ὑπάρχοντα καὶ δόξα; פשיטתא: עותרא ונכסא ואיקרא: R. Isaak ben Yehuda Ibn Ghiyath (غياث) i. e., אסחאק בן יהודה אבן גיא, in his Arabic translation of the Book of Koheleth (edited by Jacob Loevy, Leiden, Brill, 1884) has for that יסארה ומאלא וכראמה, i. e., يسارة ومالا وكرامة.

² That מְקִנָּה "tax, tribute," as well as the [corresponding Aramean מְדַאֲתָא go back to the Assyrian mandattu or mandantu "tribute," from Assy. מְנַ "to give" (= Heb. נתן, SFG. 43, 2), I have already remarked SFG. 16, 4. Why this explanation is attributed to Friedrich Delitzsch in the latest edition of Gesenius' Lexicon (p. 437) I am at a loss to tell. Pognon likewise in his "Inscription de Mérou-Nérar I.," p. 42, n. 1, remarks: Le mot mandattu, mandatta, qui vient du thème NDN, a passé en syriaque, où il est devenu مَنَدَتْن, pl. مَنَدَتْن, without citing my SFG. The combination of בָּלָה, on the other hand, in the connection מְנַדָּה בָּלָה וְהָלַךְ, occurring three times in the Book of Ezra, viz., Ezr. iv. 13 and 20; vii. 24) with Assy. biltu "tax" goes back to Oppert (EM. II., 49, 92, cf. de Goeje-Kautzsch in the *Theologische Literaturztg.*, 1886, No. 22, col. 509 and has never been claimed by myself. Wâteh-ben-Hazael, p. 12, n. 2, (HEBRAICA, Vol. I., No. 4), I cited for it KAT. 377. It might be well to note that the form בָּלָה which Kautzsch ("Grammar of the Biblical Aramean," p. 100) would explain as a contraction from מְנַדָּה seems to me very suspicious. For biltu, constr. bilat (from וּבֵל "to bring," = Heb. הוֹבִיל) we should expect in Aramean בִּלְתָא, constr. בִּלְתֵּי, absol. בִּלְתָא. Besides in Assyrian the expression usually is bilat mandatti "gift of tribute" so that bilat is construct state to mandatti; at any rate, biltu always comes first. Perhaps it would be better to change מְנַדָּה בָּלָה וְהָלַךְ into בִּלְתֵּי מְנַדָּה וְהָלַךְ; cf. φέρων πρᾶξιν καὶ συντέλεσμα of the LXX., Ezr. iv. 13.

word is nowhere written ni-ka-a-su or ni-kas-su. The denoting of the vowel of the second syllable as â rests, I presume, only on the supposition, heretofore generally held, that all qital forms are to be assumed in Assyrian as qitâl.¹ I have repeatedly shown (cf. HEBRAICA, vol I, p. 175) that we must read šikaru *strong drink* and zikaru *man*, for instance, with a short *a*. The shortness of the *a* is implied by the occurrence of the, syncopated by-forms šikru and zikru.² Similarly erroneous is the often repeated assertion³ that all nominal formations written qatalu, in Assyrian, are to be read qatâlu. Instances of the form qâtâl, with short *a* in the second syllable, in Assyrian, are, for example, išaru *straight, righteous* (= iašaru; cf. my SFG., 21, 1), fem. išartu, Hebr. יִשָּׁר, fem. יִשְׂרָה; ma'adu *much*, fem. ma'attu, cf. Hebr. מֵאָדָר; ḡatanu *son-in-law* (cf. Schrader, COT. 126; V R. 5, 2; 40, 36 c) = Hebr. חָתָן.⁴

I should, therefore, prefer to read nikâsu, a form like Hebr. לֵבָב *heart* and עֵנָב *grape*. That נִכְסִים did not originate by metathesis⁵ from כְּנָסִים, but should rather be combined with Assy. nikasu, is quite right; yet the original meaning of nikasu is different from that given by Delitzsch. Nikasu comes from the common Assyrian verb nakâsu (Impf. ikkis) *to cut off* or *to cut down*;

¹ Hommel, in the Assyrian Index to his *Jagdinschriften*, writes, for example, שָׂכָר, שָׂכָר with a long *a*. The same mistake occurs in the latest edition of Gesenius' Lexicon, s. v. שָׂכָר and No. 139 of the "Schrifttafel" of Delitzsch's "Assyrische Lesestücke," (in the Glossary he gives correctly šikaru).

² Also Assy. צִיל "rib" (with צָ, pl. צִילִין, is a qital form syncopated from qital. צִיל stands for צִל, צִלָּא, צִלֵּע. In Arabic we find ضِلْع and ضِلْع alongside of another.

³ Vide e. g. Hommel, *Jagdinschriften*, p. 12.

⁴ Concerning חָתָן I should like to add that the etymology as proposed by Friedr. Delitzsch ("Prolegomena," p. 91) from Assy. خَتَان "to protect" seems to me rather unlikely. The same opinion is expressed by Kautzsch in his review of Delitzsch's "Prolegomena" in *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 1886, No. 2, col. 508. The correct etymology seems to me to have been indicated by Wellhausen in his "Prolegomena," p. 360. According to him the circumcision of boys is historically explained Exod. iv. 25 as a milder equivalent for the primitive circumcision of young men before marriage. In a note he adds: That this was the original custom is shown by the word חָתָן which means both "circumcision" and "bridegroom," or in Arabic [and Assyrian] "son-in-law." This at once explains the meaning of חָתָן רֵמִים "bridegroom of blood, blood-bridegroom," in Exod. iv. 25. Even at the present time the primitive custom prevails among some Arabian tribes, just as Shechem in Gen. xxxiv. was compelled to be circumcised before marriage.

⁵ On the other hand the stem נָסַךְ "to offer" (cf. Dan. ii. 45) מְנַחֵה וְנִחְיָחִין לְנִסְכָּה לָהּ might be due to metathesis from נָכַס. The fact that it is specially used of libations presents no difficulty. In Assyrian, for instance, נָסַךְ means libation and then specially "sacrificial lamb," while נָסַךְ in Aramean means "lamb" in general; cf. *Prætermissa*, 42, 53: נָסַכָּא = نَسَكَة na'je, pl. נָסַכָּא = نَسَاج na'âj. The stem נָסַךְ has developed the same meanings as the stem נָסַךְ. The latter means "to pour out, to bring a libation," then "to offer" in general, and finally "to expiate, to purify, to cleanse." Similarly نَسَك nasaka (from which نَسِكة nasike "victim" is derived) in Arabic means "to offer," then "to clean," specially clothes (غسل); finally "to be clean, pure, blameless, pious." But all these meanings go back to the original meaning of נָכַס "to cut off." For the metathesis of נָכַס to נָסַךְ, compare נָשַׁךְ "to bite," which appears in Aramean as נָכַת. In Amharic we have nasâka and nakâsa alongside of one another in the meaning "to bite."

e. g., *kirâtišu*¹ *akkis* *I cut down his parks*, or *qaqqâsu*² *akkis* *I cut off his head*.

We have from the same stem a noun *niksu* (constr. *nikis*) which means "slaughter, massacre." From the meaning "to cut down" there is developed the meaning "to kill, to slaughter." This is, as is well known, the usual meaning of the stem נכס in Aramean. The Aramean derivative נִכְסְתָא, which is feminine to Assy. *niksu*, means then "slaughter,"³ and then, at the same time (like Heb. טֹבַח in טֹבַחַהּ טֹבַחַהּ Prov. ix. 2), "what there is to be slaughtered," "pecus ad cultrum destinatum," "cattle to be killed," and then "animal to be immolated victim," or "offering"⁴ in general, like Assy. *nikasu*; just as Hebr. זֶבַח means both "to slaughter" and "to offer."

In the three-columned vocabulary ASKT. 108, 4, this Assyrian *nikasu* corresponds to the ideogram LAG, which, in other passages (ASKT. 22, 439; 71, 10; II R. 38, 11e; V R. 31, 6; Sb. 241) is rendered by *qirbânu* or *qurbânu*, i. e., קִרְבָּן.⁵ It is preceded by the words *qîštu* (cf. HEBRAICA, I., 179) *gift*, *taklîmu* *present*, and *nindabû*, i. e., Hebr. נִדְבָה *free-will offering*.⁶

The original meaning of *nikasu* is, accordingly, "victim, hostia, bloody sacrifice," קִרְבָּן מִן-הַזֶּבַחַהּ, Lev. i. 2. The original meaning of נִכְסִים, on the other hand, is really "pecus ad cultrum destinatum, cattle to be killed," then generally "cattle, herds." And it is from this that the meaning "property, wealth, riches" is developed. In Syriac, נכסא possesses not only the signification "wealth," like Hebr. נִכְסִים, but also the original meaning "herds of cattle;" cf. Lagarde, *Prætermissa*, p. 42, 4; l. 51, where נכסא corresponds to the Arabic الذبائح = نکستاه; *ibid.*, l. 55, جماعة الدواب والمال والمواشي.

The connection between Lat. *pecunia* and *pecus* is well known. In the same way *sugullatu* in Assyrian means "herd;" the corresponding Hebrew word סִגְלָה, however, "property." On the other hand, the word מִקְנֵה, which properly means "property," from קָנָה *to appropriate, to acquire*, has, in Hebrew, exclusively assumed the meaning of "animal property, cattle;" cf. Greek κτήνος =

¹ That the plural of כָּרוּ (cf. Heb. כָּר "meadow," Isa. xxx. 23; pl. כְּרִים, Ps. xxxvii. 20 and lxxv. 14) should be *kiretu* does not follow from the text TSBA. viii. 287, cited by Pinches, II ZK. 159, 1.

² For *qaqqadsu*; cf. Heb. קִדְקֹד, a form like *qaqqaru* "ground," Heb. קִרְקַע by dissimilation with קִרְקַע instead of קִרְקַע.

³ Cf. Acts viii. 32, פִּשְׁתָּא לְנִכְסְתָא אֲתִדְבֵּר: ὡς πρόβατον ἐπὶ σφαγῆν ἤχθη = Heb. כֶּשֶׂה לְטֹבַח יוֹבֵל, Isa. liii. 7.

⁴ Cf. Acts vii. 42, פִּשְׁתָּא לִי: נכסתא או דנחתא קרבח לי: ἡ σφάγια καὶ θυσίας προσηνέγκατέ μοι = Heb. רְבִחָא וקורבנא פִּשְׁתָּא לִי, Amos v. 25, where the פִּשְׁתָּא gives רְבִחָא וקורבנא.

⁵ Cf. Mark vii. 11: κορβᾶν ὃ ἐστὶν δῶρον. Dillmann's remark ("Exodus and Leviticus," 318), that in the other Semitic languages the word is borrowed from the Bible, naturally does not hold good for Assyrian. It is very probable that קִרְבָּן is a Babylonian loan-word. Cf. Wellhausen, "Prolegomena," p. 414.

⁶ Cf. for this Johannes Latrille in ZA. I. 37.

κτῆνων, κτήμα.¹ In Syriac the word קְנִינָא *property* (Gen. xxxiv. 23, קְנִין) is specially used for "animal for riding;" vide Nestle, in ZDMG. xxxiii. 707. Similarly rukûšu, V R. 9, 36, does not mean "property," as Delitzsch, in the glossary to the third edition of his "Assyrische Lesestücke," s. v. רכש (cf. also *Prolegomena*, p. 4), and Lyon, *Assyr. Manual*, p. 130, would have it; but "animals for riding;" cf. Heb. רָכַשׁ (Aram. רִכְשָׁא) and רָכּוּשׁ.² The passage in the Arabian Campaign of Sardanapalus,³—Gammale rukûšešunu ušalliqû³ ana şûmešun⁴ ištâtû⁵ dâme⁶ u me paršu,⁷—means "they cut open the camels, their riding animals, and for their thirst drank the blood and filthy water" (i. e., the slimy, bitter, fetid fluid in the water-cells of the stomach of the camels, in the stomach-cells).

The result of our investigation, accordingly, is that Hebr. נֶכֶסִּים *wealth*, as well as Assyrian nikasu *offering*, come from the stem n'akâsu *to cut off*, while the stem נָסַךְ *to offer*, from which Arabic نَسِكة *nasîke victim*, and Hebrew נִסְכִּים, Aram. נִסְכִּין *libation*, are derived, seems only to rest on a metathesis from נָכַס.

¹ Similarly מְרִשִּׁית, fem. pass. Part. of רָשָׁה (Impf. יִרְשֶׁה) "to possess," then also "to grant, to allow," means in Assyrian "herd." Assyrian מְרִשִּׁית is feminine to the form مَفْعُول just like Assyrian מְרַחֶת "wife," which Zimmern, "Busspsalmen," p. 43, n. 2, erroneously considers as an abstract form maf'al. So too Assyrian מְנַרֶת, fem. מְנַרֶת, "bond-man," cited by Zimmern, represents the form مَفْعُول just as Assyrian מְשַׁתֶּית or מְלַתֶּית "drink," etc., etc.

² The development of meanings of רכש is accordingly quite different from that proposed in Gesenius' Lexicon.

³ This word is important for the passage Bechor. 45a, where it is told of the pupils of Rabbi Ishmael שֶׁלְקוֹ זִוְנָה אַחַת שֶׁנִּתְחַיְיבָה שְׂרִיפָהּ לַמֶּלֶךְ, which Levy translates quite correctly "they anatomized a harlot who had been condemned by the government to death by burning." To this Fleischer remarks in his addition to Levy's Chaldee Lexicon, p. 579: "This 'anatomizing' is in such entire opposition to oriental practices, and is so little in accord with the usual meanings of שֶׁלַק, سلق that for the present I must doubt the correctness of this translation." These doubts are settled by the Assyrian שֶׁלְקוֹ. The Impf. Qal of this verb is יִשְׁלַק and occurs V R. 4, 69: לִישְׁנֵשְׁנו אֶשְׁלַק "I cut out their tongues."

⁴ Assyrian צִיֹּם "thirst" (V R. 31, 4 şu-u-mu) is = צָמָא, cf. SD. 517, 2.

⁵ Notice here the use of the form אֶפְתַּעַל of שָׁתִּי "to drink," on account of the following אֵין צִימִישׁ "for their thirst."

⁶ Plene da-a-mu Sb. 223.

⁷ The correct reading and translation of this difficult word was first given by A. Delattre; see his interesting essay on *L'Asie centrale dans les inscriptions assyriennes*, Bruxelles, 1885, p. 115, n. 2. He remarks there to me-paršu: littéralement "des eaux de paršu." Paršu est l'équivalent de l'hébreu פָּרַשׁ "excrement" de la même racine. But he wrongly translates "urine"! The Hebrew פָּרַשׁ which occurs in six passages of the Old Testament, viz., Exod. xxix. 14; Lev. iv. 11 (וּפְרָשׁוֹ); viii. 17; xvi. 27; Num. xix. 5 (וּפְרָשָׁה יִשְׂרָאֵל); Mal. ii. 3, does not mean "excrementum" like פָּצָא, but "fæces interior corporis, fæces in ventriculo animalis," "contents of the viscera," "contenu d'un ventricule" just as the corresponding Arabic فَرْث farth. An important parallel passage to this דְּמֵי דְּמֵי (cf. וּמִי-פָּרַשׁ דֵּם וּפְרָתָא Sanhedrin 67b) is Sennach. v. 83, which I have for the first time correctly explained in my translation of the cuneiform account of the Battle of Halule, *Andover Review*, May, 1886, p. 546, 12.

⁸ A complete translation of this highly interesting text has been given by me in the *Études archéologiques, linguistiques et historiques dédiés à Mr. le Dr. Leemans, Leide*, E. J. Brill, 1885, pp. 139-142. Cf. *HEBRAICA*, Vol. II., p. 248.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

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FEMININE PLURAL OF VERBS.—In the *Journal of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis* for June, 1886, p. 111, I called attention to the form **צִעְרָה**, Gen. XLIX. 22, as apparently a plural form, and not, as usually supposed, a singular verb used with a plural noun. The passage reads **בְּנֵת צִעְרָה עַל־שׁוֹר**. A similar case occurs in 1 Sam. iv. 15, **וַעֲיִנִּי קָמָה**, where, however, a few codices read **קָמוּ** (cf. 1 Kgs. xiv. 4). Now, in the Hebrew verb, we find in the Imperfect a distinction between the endings of the feminine and masculine plural. In the cognate languages this distinction exists not only in the Imperfect, but also in the Perfect. In Assyrian we find (permansive) the masculine plural, third person, ending in *û*, the feminine in *â*; as, *šaknû*, *šaknâ*. The same is true of the Western Aramaic; as, **כתבה, כתבו**. The Samaritan and Syriac distinguish the feminine gender by *î*, instead of *â*, the latter adding also the letter *n*. Thus we have in Samaritan *qatalû*, *qatalî*, but in Syriac *q'ṭalûn*, *q'ṭalîn*. Turning to the South Semitic, we find the Ethiopic in agreement with the Assyrian, while the Arabic, although possessing a separate form for the feminine, has obscured the original ending. Thus we have in Ethiopic *nagalû*, *nagalâ*, but in Arabic *qatalû*, *qatalna*. As endings of the masc. and fem. plural in the Imperfect, we find: Hebrew, *û* (*ûn*), and *nâ*; Western Aramaic and Syriac, *ûn*, and *ân*; Samaritan, *û*, and *ân*; Assyrian, *û* (*ni*), and *â* (*ni*); Ethiopic, *û*, and *â*; Arabic, *ûna*, and *na*. Comparing these forms, I think we may make bold to assert that in the original Semitic language the masculine plural of the verb throughout ended in *û*, the feminine in *â*. It accordingly becomes reasonable to explain the forms **צִעְרָה**, Gen. XLIX. 22, and **קָמָה**, 1 Sam. iv. 15, as survivals in the language of the Northern Kingdom of the ancient use, which was lost in classical Hebrew (but compare possibly 1 Kgs. xiv. 6, and Micah i. 9).

This comparison would seem, also, to make it evident that the feminine plural ending **נָה** in the Imperfect of the Hebrew verb has resulted from an original *â* by insertion of the weak euphonic letter **נ**, as in **נָנִי**, etc. It may further be suggested that the reason why the feminine plural became obsolete in the Perfect of the Hebrew verb is to be found in the peculiar development of the feminine singular; for, whereas in all the other languages of the Semitic family, the ending *at* has been retained as the feminine ending in the third person singular (Samaritan has an alternative form in *â*), in Hebrew the ending *â* has been substituted. This produced an inconvenient identity of form between the singular and plural, which

resulted in the loss of the latter. In the Imperfect, moreover, the Hebrew seems to have lost the sense of the essentially feminine character of the ending נה; accordingly, while in the third person the other languages of the family prefix the the simple sign of the Imperfect (י, Syriac ܝ), leaving both gender and number to be designated by the ending, the Hebrew prefixes the sign of feminine gender (ת), thus producing an accidental identity with the second person.

MASCULINE PLURAL IN ÔTH.—There are in Hebrew a few well known masculine plurals in ôth, such as אֲבוֹת. All Hebrew grammars which I have examined explain these forms as feminine plurals with masculine signification. It is true that in Hebrew these forms have the appearance of being feminines, but a comparison with the Assyrian will show at once that the וַת of the feminine plural, and the וַת of the masculine plural have a different origin. The former is from an original ât, as shown by the Assyrian feminine plural ending âti, the latter from an original ût, as shown by the Assyrian masculine plural ending ûti. It is true that, owing to the identity of the resulting forms, some confusion has arisen in Hebrew use, but that does not affect the question of the origin of the masculine plural in וַת. Another important case where an ô in Hebrew has resulted from an original u, is the Imperfect of the simple verb. The North Semitic used in the second syllable of the Imperfect either u, a, or i, as attested by the Assyrian; for example, iškun, iṣbat, iddin. These three vowels are represented in the Hebrew respectively by ô, a, ê; for example, יֵאָחֲזוּ, יִרְבֹּק, יִקְטֹל. (It will be observed that in Hebrew the last form is used exclusively in verbs which have a weak initial consonant.) So also the ô in the Infinitive absolute of the Pʿêl and Nîphʿâl is the representative of an original u, while the ô in the Infinitive of Qāl represents an original â, as is shown by a comparison of the Hebrew קָטַל, נִקְטַל, קָטַל, with the corresponding parts of the Assyrian verb šakau, namely, šakânu, naškunu, and šukunu.

WAW CONSECUTIVE WITH THE IMPERFECT.—Turning to Gesenius' *Thesaurus*, I find three theories of the origin of וַי presented: (a) That it is a contraction from הוּה (for הִיה) by loss of initial ה; so that וַיִּקְטַל was originally הוּה יִקְטַל, then וַהִיִּקְטַל, and then by assimilation וַיִּקְטַל; (b) that it is the representative of an original וְהִיה; so that וַיִּקְטַל stands by apocopation for וְהִיה יִקְטַל; (c) that it is merely a strengthened form of the simple וַי, the Dāghēš-forte representing no assimilation whatsoever. While at that time adopting the first of these three explanations, Gesenius admits a growing inclination toward the last. The editors of the ninth edition of the *Handwörterbuch* and of the twenty-third edition of the *Grammatik* have adopted the last explanation. Ewald regarded the Pāthāh and Dāghēš-forte as proof of the existence in the form of another element beside the conjunction וַי, and thought that element to be the adverb אֲזַי (archaic אֲזַי, Assyrian adi). וַאֲזַיִּקְטַל would then be a contraction from וַאֲזַיִּקְטַל. The analogy of the language appears to demand the explanation of Dāghēš-forte as due

to the assimilation of some consonant. The article presents phenomena similar to those of Wāw consecutive. In the case of the article the Dāghēš forte is explained by a comparison with the more remotely connected South Semitic family, where we find in Arabic the article *al*. This has been aspirated in Hebrew, from the same tendency which led to an aspiration of the preformatives of Nīph'āl and Hīthpā'ēl, giving us the form הַל. The ל of this form has been treated as a weak letter, which it is also in Arabic, and hence assimilated, like ל in לקח. May we turn to the Arabic for the explanation of הַי also? We find in Arabic a conjunction *an* "that, so that, in order that, to," sign of direct quotation, equivalent, in its various uses, to *ut, quod, ὅτι*. Has this conjunction, lost elsewhere in Hebrew, been possibly preserved in the Dāghēš-forte of the Wāw consecutive? In that case וַיִּקְטֹל would be a contraction from an earlier וַאֲנִי קֹטֵל, the Dāghēš-forte representing, as so often, an assimilated *nun*. If this hypothesis were adopted, we should have to suppose that syntactically the ו represented an ellipsis to be supplied in thought before אֲנִי. This would involve, apparently, the supposition that the original force of the Wāw consecutive was the expression of purpose or consequence, that of mere consecution being a later development. This would, moreover, involve the supposition that the use of the Wāw consecutive with the Perfect was the result of supposed analogy, after the origin and original force of the Wāw consecutive with the Perfect had been lost sight of. Whether this proposition be worthy of consideration or not, at least it seems to me that both the form and sense of וַיִּקְטֹל compel us to reject the theory that it is a mere variation of וַיִּ.

THE USE OF NUMBERS IN HEBREW.—In *HEBRAICA* for April, 1886, I called attention to some peculiarities in the use of numbers in Hebrew. Every one, conservative as well as radical, has doubtless been perplexed by the astonishingly large number of persons who are stated by Hebrew writers to have perished in certain battles and the like. In a few places, the editors of *Scriptures Hebrew and Christian* have offered an explanation of puzzling numbers of this sort, which may be of interest to those who have not seen it. 1 Kgs. xx. 30, we read :

וַיָּנֻסוּ הַנּוֹתָרִים אַפְקָה אֶל-הָעִיר וַתִּפֹּל הַחוֹמָה עַל-עֲשָׂרִים וְשִׁבְעָה אֲלָף
אִישׁ הַנּוֹתָרִים וּבֶן-הָדָד נָס וַיָּבֹא אֶל-הָעִיר חָרָר בְּחָדָר :

In its apparent sense, this sounds like a physical impossibility. The editors of *Scriptures Hebrew and Christian* have done it into English thus (p. 375): "And Ben-hadad, with twenty-seven thousand of them that were left, fled to Aphek, into the city; and the wall fell upon them. And Ben-hadad took refuge in an inner chamber in the hold." Similarly, in the same story, the number of Syrians said to have perished in the battle, verse 29, is referred back in sense to verse 27, as the total number of the Syrian army. A third instance of the same sort will be found on page 473 of the above-mentioned work. 2 Kgs. xix. 35, we are told :

וַיְהִי בַלִּילָה הַהוּא וַיֵּצֵא מֶלֶאךָ יְהוּדָה בְּמַחֲנֶה אֲשׁוּר מֵאָה שְׁמוֹנִים
וַחֲמִשָּׁה אֲלָף וַיִּשְׁבְּיוּ בַבְּקָר וַחֲנָה כָּל־סָרִיסִים מֵתִים :

The number in this verse the editors have understood to refer to the total number of Sennacherib's army, and not literally to the number that perished.

A word or two will explain the principle on which the Hebrew idiom has been thus interpreted. We say in English that an army perished utterly, where we have no intention of saying that all the individuals composing it perished. It is, literally considered, a hyperbolical statement. We might say that so and so invaded such and such a country with an army of one hundred thousand men, and that he was defeated, and his whole army perished. No one would suppose the narrator to mean that one hundred thousand men were actually killed. And yet, by a very slight change of wording, which, if both parts of the former statement be literally understood, involves no real change of meaning, we might narrate the same thing thus: So and so invaded such and such a country, and was defeated, and one hundred thousand men perished. The editors of *Scriptures Hebrew and Christian* have assumed the existence of the latter idiom, and translated it into terms of the former.

JUDGES V. 30.—The Revised Version translates this verse:—

Have they not found, have they not divided the spoil?
A damsel, two damsels to every man;
To Sisera a spoil of divers colours,
A spoil of divers colours of embroidery,
Of divers colours of embroidery on both sides, on the necks of the spoil?

Scriptures Hebrew and Christian translates it thus:

Do they not find and share the spoil?
A vulture crest or two for the head of the warrior,
A spoil of gay robes for Sisera,
A spoil of gay embroidered robes,
A gay embroidered robe or two for the neck of the spoiler?

הלא ימצאו יחלקו שלל
רחם רחמתי לראש גבר
שלל צבעים לסיסרא
שלל צבעים רקמה
צבע רקמתי לצוארי שלל

Examining this with a special view to its parallelism of external form, we find that line 2 corresponds to line 5, and 3 to 4, word for word. It is evident that the first two words of line 2 refer to some sort of booty. רַחֵם, or רָחֵם, means "womb;" but in no place does any word from that root mean "woman." Here, however, tradition has assigned to it that sense, apparently on the ground that it meant some sort of booty, and that was the only sort which could in any way be brought into connection with the root sense "womb." But the word לִרְאֵשׁ creates a new difficulty. Commentators have argued that it is used in the sense of "individual," as we sometimes use "head." To say the least, this would not be an apt occasion for the use of "head," meaning "individual." Moreover, in the parallel line we have "neck" used in its literal sense, which certainly creates a strong presumption that "head" is also used in its literal sense.

In view of the parallel line, and indeed of the contents of the entire stanza, which represents very graphically a woman's interest in dress, we expect to find in **רחם** some article of dress or adornment for the head. Now, we have in Hebrew a word **רחם**, a Semitic root, meaning "vulture." This has led Heilprin (*The Historical Poetry of the Ancient Hebrews*, I., 146) to suggest that the word meant vultures of precious metal, used as adornments of the helmets of men of station. At least I think it may be argued much more plausibly that it means vulture-crests, either as vultures of precious metal, or as much esteemed wings or plumes, like ostrich feathers among us, than that, following the old tradition, it means "woman."


A comparison of lines 2 and 5 also shows us that **עבר** and **שלל** are parallel. The editors of the ninth edition of Gesenius' *Handwörterbuch* regard **שלל** as a *nomen agentis*, in which sense it is a *ἄπαξ λεγόμενον*. I think it quite possible that the pointing should be changed to **שָׁלַל**; but in any case the parallelism proves a *nomen agentis*.

There is a looseness of grammatical use, in line 5, in the case of the dual **רקמתים**. The proper translation is suggested by the parallel words in line 2.

THE MEANING OF **שרה**.—In Assyrian the same sign (𐎶) is used as a determinative for either land or mountain. In the former sense the word is not infrequent in Hebrew, so that we have **שרה מואב**, **שרה העמלקי**, **שרה ארם**, etc. In this sense it is a synonym of the more common **ארץ**; it is accordingly used in 1 Chron. xvi. 32 and Ezra xxvi. 6, 8, as a synonym for another sense of the word **ארץ**, namely, "dry land." But by far the most common use of the word in Hebrew is in the sense of "country," as over against "city," and, a secondary sense to this one, "fields," as over against vineyards and the like. The editors of the ninth edition of Gesenius' *Handwörterbuch* give, as the first meaning of the word, "flat country," in distinction from "mountain land." This is one of the cases in which the editors have abused their position as lexicographers. They have invented a meaning to accord with their theory of the etymology of the word. There is absolutely no support for their theory in Hebrew usage. They refer to only one passage, Hos. xii. 13, **וַיִּכְרַח יַעֲקֹב שָׂרָה אֶרֶם** And Jacob fled to the land of Aram. A glance at the names of countries used in the Old Testament with the prefix **שרה** will show any one that this statement of the *Handwörterbuch* fairly deserves to be characterized as ridiculous.

In Judges v. 18, we find the phrase **עַל מְרוֹמֵי שָׂרָה**. It is very evident that here not only does **שרה** not mean "level ground," in distinction from "hill country," but it actually means the latter. Another passage looking in the same direction is Judg. xx. 31; perhaps also Jer. xiii. 27; xvii. 3, and Ezek. xxi. 2. Num. xxiii. 14, also, becomes much more intelligible if we understand by **שרה** "hill country" or "mountains," instead of "field," thus, "And he took him to Watchers' Mountains, to the top of Pisgah." Probably, however, the most inter-

esting passage in this connection is 2 Sam. i. 21. Here we have 'שרי used as parallel to and synonymous with 'רר. Wellhausen (Sam. 152) has pointed out that the true LXX. text here read *ὅρη θανάτου*, and Thenius is of the same opinion. Both, moreover, recognize a corrupt text, and both object to the form 'שרי, which is found nowhere else. Adopting, not the LXX. text, but a suggestion from it, I would propose to amend ושריתרומות into ושרות רמות, and translate "lofty mountains" (cf. Judg. v. 18).

The sign  in Assyrian, when referring to a country, is read *ma tu*, when referring to mountains *ša du*. The words *ša du* and שרה are manifestly the same. But while שרה is used in Hebrew as the determinative of country, and the meaning "mountain" has almost vanished, the word *ša du* in Assyrian means only "mountain," while another word has taken its place in the meaning "country." But the use of the same determinative for both words shows us that *ša du* in the earliest Assyrian times carried the meaning "land," as well as "mountain." And I believe that the passages which I have adduced above show us that in Hebrew the word originally meant "mountain" as well as "land."

➤CONTRIBUTED NOTES.◀

Some Textual Remarks on the Old Testament.—Josh. x. 21, לֹא־חָרַץ לְבָנִי : יִשְׂרָאֵל לְאִישׁ אֶת־לִשְׁנוֹ : the Lamedh in יִשְׂרָאֵל was doubled and the second Lamedh was pushed forward to the following אִישׁ.

Josh. x. 24, הֶחֱלֹכוּ אֹתוֹ : the Aleph in הֶחֱלֹכוּ was carried over from the following אֹתוֹ to the preceding word (הֶחֱלֹכוּ) which should be written without an Aleph.

Josh. xv. 12, וְגִבּוֹל יָם הַיָּמָה הַגָּדוֹל : the He in הַיָּמָה has arisen from the He of the following הַגָּדוֹל.

Josh. xxii. 7, עַם־אֲחִיהֶם מְעַבֵּר הִירְדֵן : in my opinion the Mem in מְעַבֵּר is quite superfluous and has arisen from the מ of אֲחִיהֶם.

Judg. i. 14, לְשֹׂאֵל מֵאֶת־אֲבִיהַּ הַשָּׂדֶה : the text of Josh. xv. 18 is correct. The ה before אֲבִיהַּ has been doubled, as Studer has already correctly conjectured.

Judg. vii. 8, וַיִּקְחוּ אֶת־צִדְדָה הָעָם : one should perhaps read צַד and regard the ה as having arisen from the initial letter of הָעָם.

Judg. xx. 38, הָרַב לְהַעֲלוֹתָם מִשְׁאֵת הָעֵשֶׂן : read with Studer לְהַעֲלוֹתָם without Mem. The Mem is superfluous and has arisen from the מ of מִשְׁאֵת.

1 Sam. ii. 27, כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה הַנְּגִלָה נְגִלְתִּי : the first He of הַנְּגִלָה probably arises from the He of יְהוָה.

2 Sam. vii. 23, כְּעֶמֶךָ כִּי־יִשְׂרָאֵל : the final Kaph of כְּעֶמֶךָ went over to the following word.

2 Kgs. xi. 1, וְעֵתְלִיָּה אִם אֲחֻזִּיהוּ וְרֹאֲתָה : one should read רֹאֲתָה only, without Waw, as the final Waw of אֲחֻזִּיהוּ was doubled.

Jer. xxxi. 39, קוֹה הַמֶּדֶה : read קו without He.

Ezek. xxi. 31, הַשְּׁפֵל הַגִּבָּה : it should read הַשְּׁפֵל הַגִּבָּה as the He arose from the doubling of the first letter of הַגִּבָּה. Pirchon, in his grammar, notes that the He in הַשְּׁפֵל is superfluous, but does not give any reason for it.

Ezek. xlvi. 10, וַיָּצֵא : read with Smend וַיָּצֵא, the Waw arising from the first word in verse 11, וּבַחֲנִים.

Hab. i. 16, 17, מֵאֲכָלוֹ בָּרָאָה : הָעֵל : it should read עַל without He. The He appears to have arisen through the doubling of the last letter of בָּרָאָה.

Ps. lxix. 20, נִגְדָה כָּל־צוּרִי : the Kaph in נִגְדָה has arisen through the doubling of the first letter of כָּל. Read כָּל־צוּרִי.

Prov. xxx. 1, אֲתִי אֵל לֹאֲתִיָּאֵל לֹאֲתִיָּאֵל וְאֵכֵל : is it perhaps to be read אֵל אֲתִי, "God is with me and I shall triumph"?

Job xxvii. 13, זֶה חֶלֶק אָדָם רָשָׁע עִם־אֵל : "This is the reward or portion of the bad with God" is entirely unintelligible. As xx. 29 proves, the ע of

עם arises from the ע in רשע and the ם is to be connected with אל, "This is the reward or portion of the bad from God." The sentence is thus rendered intelligible, and corresponds to the parallel ונתלת עריצים משדי יקחו.

Job XXXIII. 24, 25, רטפֿש כפֿר : מִצָּאתִי כפֿר : the ר in רטפֿש is superfluous. It should be טפֿש (it is fat).

Dan. XI. 4, מלכותו ולאחרים : כי תנתש מלכותו ולאחרים : it should be לאחרים without Waw. The Waw is doubled from מלכותו.

1 Chron. xv. 16, להרים בקול לשמחה : cancel the ל in לשמחה. It has arisen through the doubling of ל בקול.

Neh. v. 2, ויש אשר אמרים בנינו ובנותינו אנחנו רבים ונקחה רנן : as long as we stand by the traditional reading, this verse remains obscure. It can, however, be understood at once if we accept that רבים is a miswriting for ערבים, "We pledge our sons and daughters and buy corn." The conjecture is confirmed by verse 3.

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Translated from *Stade's Zeitschrift f. Alttest. Wissenschaft* by Robert F. Harper.

An Old English Semitic Series.—It is commonly stated, or left to be implied, by the Syriac scholars and bibliographers, that no Syriac grammar was printed in England during the eighteenth century. That, however, is a mistake. A series of grammars was prepared and printed at London, whose scope may be learned from the title to the Hebrew grammar of the series, which runs as follows :

"THE | *Compleat Linguist.* | OR, AN UNIVERSAL | GRAMMAR | Of all the Considerable | TONGUES in Being. | In a Shorter, Clearer, and more Instructive | METHOD than is extant. | ————— | *Collected from the most Approv'd Hands.* | ————— | To be publish'd Monthly, One Distinct GRAMMAR each Month, till the whole is perfected : | With a PREFACE to every Grammar, relating | to each Tongue. | ————— | NUMB. VI. | For the Months *March, April, & May*, 1720. | BEING | A GRAMMAR of the *Hebrew* Tongue. | By JOHN HENLEY, M.A. | ————— | LONDON : | Printed for J. ROBERTS, in *Warwick-Lane*; and | J. PEMBERTON, at the *Buck and Sun* against | *St. Dunstan's Church* in *Fleetstreet*. 1720. Price 2 s."

All of the series which I own are bound in one volume, and are the following : Hebrew grammar (No. VI.), Chaldee grammar (No. VII.), Arabic grammar (No. VIII.), and the Syriac grammar (No. IX.). The title of the Syriac grammar, *mutatis mutandis*, is precisely like that of the Hebrew grammar, except that it omits the names of the months (and their year) for which the number was issued, and bears the date 1723 (at the place where the Hebrew grammar has the date 1720 for the second time). The size is a small octavo. Contents : False title, true title, dedication "To the most Reverend Father in God, William, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury," eight pages, signed by John Henley ; Preface, pp. xviii ; grammar proper, pp. 77. It is a very respectable work, and shows a pretty good knowledge of the work that had been done in the field of Syriac study and printing in Europe. Of course the author was not in advance of his times, and the book has a number of misprints. The Syriac is stated to have been "the vernacular Tongue of our Blessed Saviour ;" the defects of previous grammars (except that of Dr. Beverege)

are attributed to their authors' lack of opportunity to study the Old Testament; Hebrew and Chaldee are laid down as prerequisites to a study of Syriac; and so on. The Syriac translation of the Old Testament "*is thought more Antient than all that have been made since the Time of Christ; and to have been written in the Time of Jude the Apostle, when the Syriac Version of the New Testament was penn'd.*" The author's comments on the New Testament are worth quoting, since they show his clear bibliographical knowledge. "The latter" [the N. T.], says he, "*is extremely Pure and Elegant, and was composed either by the Apostles, or Apostolical Men. In the truest Edition of it, that of Widmanstadius, are wanting some parts of the New Testament, which were not then receiv'd by the general Consent of the whole Church; the 2d Epist. of Peter; 2d and 3d of John; that of Jude, the Apocalypse, and the Accusation of the Adulteress; which is also wanting in Chrysostom, Theophylact, and Nonnus. But doubtless, these were turned into Syriac, when receiv'd into the Canon. Lud. de Dieu put out the Apocalypse, Dr. Pocock, the Epistles, and all together were in the Polyglott.*"

The lexicons recommended are those of "Trostitius, Buxtorf, Junior, or Ferrarius (the last of them)." It is also stated that "*Dr. Beverege, who wrote his Grammar of this Tongue, while very Yong, promis'd a fuller Lexicon of it, than any extant.*" With regard to the other matters, such as Syriac idioms and words in the New Testament, the printing of the Syriac Old and New Testament, the grammars, and so on, the preface is worth reading to-day, notwithstanding some fossil errors. We need not go into the merits of the grammar, but the titles of its chapters will be interesting: "Chap. I. Alphabet, Consonants, Vowels, Diphthongs, Sheva, Dagesh, Raphe, Mappic, and the diacritical Points." "Chap. II. Noun, Declension, Pronoun." "Chap. III. Verbs Perfect or Regular" (the Paradigm has "PEAL," "Benoni," "Pehil," "Infin.," "Imper." [s. c. -ative]; "ETHPEEL" (with same moods); "PAEL" (with same moods); "ETHPAAL" (with same moods); "APHEL" (with same moods); and "ETHTAPHAL" (with same moods)). "Chap. IV. Verbs Defective and Irregular, Adverb, Conjunction, Preposition, Interjection." "Chap. V. Syntax, in all its Parts, Figures, Accents." Under accents is one paragraph about "*Syriac Verse,*" which, as it states, "does not depend upon Quantity, but the Number of Syllables and Feet; Kinds of Verse are two; taking their Names from the Authors of them, *Aphræm* and *Jacob.*"

It need scarcely be said that this grammar, in giving the names of the vowels, not only gives the now ordinary ones, but also those in which the modern Syrians, especially the Maronites, so much delight, viz., "*Abrohom, Eshajo, Ischok, Odom, Urijo*" (i. e., Abraham, Isaiah, Isaac, Adam, Uriah).

Long as this bibliographical note is, the reader will doubtless pardon an added though digressive remark. A Peshitto New Testament has lately come into my hands which is not in Nestle's bibliography. It was printed at London by Macintosh, in 1836. Its text I have had no opportunity to examine. Also, on the occasion of a correction of the plates of the New York edition of the American Bible Society's Ancient Syriac New Testament and Psalms, the Committee on Versions have permitted the Antilegomena Epistles to be corrected from the Williams Manuscript in cases of *obvious error*. The gain is very great, and one to be thankful for.

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➤BOOK : NOTICES.◀

JEWISH LITERATURE.*

A recent Italian dictionary of Hebrew abbreviations bears the title "This Great and Wide Sea." If any work deserves this title it is rather one on the literature of the Jews. For the sons of Israel have had their part (usually an honorable one) in almost every great literary period. From Josephus down to Mendelssohn they have been influenced by the intellectual activity of their Gentile neighbors, and shared in it. In a sense the literature of the Jews is, therefore, a world literature, just as the history of the Jews is the world's history.

This fact renders the subject an extremely difficult one to treat. If by Jewish literature one means the literature produced by Jews (as our author does) it is first a literature in a dozen different languages. No one can have an adequate knowledge of such a literature. All he can do is to summarize or digest the knowledge furnished by others. We cannot, from the nature of the case, make the same demands upon the author of such a work that we should make upon the historian of English or of German literature—that he should be familiar with his subject by personal study, and should give us the results of his own critical investigations.

That such a work as we have in hand may have real scientific value, there is, however, one thing we may rightfully demand. This is: that the author should name for us the secondary sources from which he draws, so that for a particular period or even a particular statement we may go to some one who will be responsible, and whose line of study we can follow out for ourselves. This our author has not done. He is undoubtedly familiar with the literature of the subject. He often quotes at length from the authors on whom he depends. But we are never referred to the book from which the quotation is taken, and never informed whom we may consider as authority for any statement—even one which we might be inclined to call in question. The extensive *Literaturnachweise* (23 pages) at the end of the work, while valuable, do not answer the purpose we have in view.

That a history of Jewish literature should be one volume of a comprehensive "History of the Literature of European (!) Peoples" is a thought worthy of an Irishman rather than a German or a Jew. This arrangement—indicated on the title-page of our work—is probably to be laid at the door of the publisher and not of the author. But the author must bear the blame of more serious faults. We will not emphasize the matter of style; for here tastes differ, and what seems to us bombastic may meet the popular demand. Clearness and definiteness, however, we have a right to ask—and we ask too often in vain. What shall we make of the following paragraph?

"Is now this 'Man Moses' the author of the Pentateuch by divine inspiration? The unbiased judgment will probably answer—Yes. Biblical criticism opposes its decided—No. According to the Christological conception, the 'Law' was the writing of Mosès. Paul and James, John and Jesus himself speak often

* GESCHICHTE DER JUEDISCHEN LITERATUR. Von Gustav Karpeles. Berlin, 1886. viii and 1172 pages octavo.

of this Law, and therefore the church has consistently made the authenticity of the Tora and its Mosaic authorship one of her articles of faith. . . . Seven centuries before the origin of Christianity there was no doubt that Moses received the Tora by divine inspiration."

What is the *christologische Auffassung* of the Pentateuch question? Where has the church made the Mosaic authorship an article of faith? How shall we know that it was already such seven centuries before Christ? What does the author himself think of the critical argument? To these questions we receive no answer. Very often we are left in doubt as to how much of the assertion of tradition which the author quotes he himself believes. Such inaccuracies, also, as are noted above, are frequent. When we receive the legendary account of the making of the Septuagint translation we get the impression that the whole Old Testament canon is the subject. We learn that twelve men from each tribe are sent by the high-priest to Egypt, making 72 in all (!). The author is certain that this version "attracted the attention of curious Greeks." Whereas it seems tolerably certain that its language would be incomprehensible to any one who had not been trained in the jargon of Greek-speaking Jews. The author, indeed, confesses as much a little later on—"Whether the version was known also to the heathen is not yet established." (Cf. pp. 217 and 220.) What shall we make of this statement?—"Long before the Exile, Jews were living in Spain, and the prophet Jonah (according to the legend) fled to this land from the wrath of the Lord." The author, while certain that the story of Jonah is legendary, yet makes a positive statement concerning the Jews in Spain for which there is not even legendary authority. "The present Hebrew alphabet was introduced by Ezra"—this assertion is made without any qualification. "The Book of Samuel was *originally* two books and *redivided* in the sixteenth century" (p. 45)—no authority is given. "That the Book of Daniel does not belong to the prophetic writings is shown by its place among the Hagiographa of the Hebrew Bible, while in the Christian canon it follows Ezechiel *for dogmatic reasons*" (p. 126). "The historian Josephus received this whole library *from the Temple* as a present, and it consisted, as can be proved, *of exactly the books* which we now know as constituting the Biblical writings" (p. 133). The true reason for the antipathy of the Greeks for the Jews was this, "that they feared lest they be surpassed intellectually by these foreigners" (p. 211). "The Jewish literature migrated with the Jewish race over the earth, and so became in truth *a world literature*." Except the Bible, the Jewish literature is not in truth a world literature, and the cosmopolitan importance of the Old Testament is not due, in any sense, to the migrations of the Jews.

But enough. We have indicated distinctly by our italics the objections that every reflecting reader must find to many statements of the author. They suffice to show the caution with which the book must be read. Yet we have read it with interest. It treats of many things which are obscure and little known. It treats them generally in an interesting manner. In spite of its many inaccuracies of detail, it probably gives a good general picture of the literature of Judaism. For this, many passages would, however, better be pruned away. That the author's point of view is that of the Jew, according to which the Talmud is "born of the spirit of prophecy," cannot, of course, be urged against him, however incomprehensible we may find it.

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FRIEDRICH DELITZSCH'S PROLEGOMENA.*

These prolegomena are intended to lay the groundwork for the author's new Hebrew and Aramaic dictionary, which is now, we believe, almost ready for publication. In chapter one, he maintains that the dictionary to the Aramaic portions of the Bible shall be kept separate from that for the Hebrew; because by the present method of mingling the vocabularies, the beginner in Hebrew is confused, and because the keeping of the Aramaic glossary by itself will afford a quick and useful review of its contents, while at the same time it will enable us to make of it a useful preparation for the study of the other Aramaic dialects. The author maintains, also, that the proper names be put in a section by themselves. He will thus shorten as much as possible the dictionary proper, while he will escape the difficulty of attempting to classify them according to roots. In the third place, it is insisted upon that the true principle of arranging the words in the Hebrew dictionary, as the analogy of the dictionaries of the other Semitic languages suggests and favors, is the arrangement according to roots. The present method is useless for the teacher. It is hurtful to the student, since it is liable to cause him to forget the principles of etymology already learned, and necessitates the burdening of his memory with a multitude of derivatives where a few root-meanings might suffice. Moreover, this arrangement has two great practical advantages. It takes up less room, and the space saved is to be filled with references to all the places in the Old Testament where the word occurs, thus rendering a concordance superfluous. Secondly, each root, or word without root, is to be numbered, and the indexes will be made with reference to these numbers and not to the pages on which the words occur, thus rendering unnecessary a completely new index with each revised edition. In order to cut out extraneous matter from the vocabulary proper, all notes, such as those containing translations, comments and conjectures from the Septuagint and other sources, are to be placed at the foot of the page.

The other five chapters are taken up with the subject-matter. In chapter two, he treats of the relation in which Hebrew stands to the other Semitic languages, prefacing his remarks with the statements that each of them has some words peculiar to itself, that in many cases we have two roots with the same radicals, but of entirely different meaning, that there is no historical tradition of the meaning of the Hebrew words, nor any substantial dependence to be placed upon the old versions and commentaries, and that hence our main reliance for the derivation and meaning of the Hebrew words must after all be upon the Old Testament text itself. That this source of information has not been exhausted, he attempts to prove from רָאָם and נָחַל, of which the meaning "wild ox" for the former and "to rest" for the latter he takes to be clear from the usage of the Old Testament writers, and to have been misunderstood on account of the injurious influence of the Arabic. He illustrates further the danger of depending too closely on the Arabic by such examples as גָּלַשׁ, of the Song of Songs IV. 1; VI. 5, which some have interpreted by means of the Arabic جلس "to sit," but which should rather have the sense of "to move downwards," as it is in modern Hebrew.

* PROLEGOMENA EINES NEUEN HEBRAEISCH-ARAMEISCHEN WOERTERBUCHS ZUM ALTEN TESTAMENT. Von Dr. Friedrich Delitzsch, Prof. Ord. Hon. für Assyriologie und semitische Sprachen an der Universität Leipzig. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung. 1886.

In articles 9 and 10 he attempts to show the insufficiency of the Arabic for the explanation of the Hebrew by giving lists of important Hebrew roots, which either have a different meaning in the Arabic, or else are not found in it at all. We fail to see that he has proven in article 10, that Aramaic is superior to the Arabic as a help for the elucidation of the Hebrew. He shows that this is true in the case of the fifty words which he mentions, of most of which the very roots are absent from the Arabic, (notice, however **طاب**, **عود**, **شرش**, **أبيل**, **أعل**, and others); but he does not show that there are not fifty words also which have analogies in the Arabic, but not in the Aramaic. Nor does he show that there are more words in the Hebrew which can be explained by the Aramaic than by the Arabic.*

Too little attention, doubtless, has been paid to the Aramaic; but too careless, or unscientific, rather than too much reliance has been placed upon the Arabic. Bearing well in mind the consonantal changes and the root theory of chapters five and six, little harm can come from the use of any of the other Semitic languages for the illustration of the Hebrew.

Article 12 will be to most readers the most interesting in this chapter, because it shows the close relationship of the Hebrew to the Assyrian, and gives a list of words and a number of sentences and grammatical forms by way of illustration. Chapter three exemplifies and amplifies the importance of the Assyrian. It is, certainly, the most noteworthy contribution which Assyriology has yet furnished to biblical science. Almost four hundred roots, or words, are mentioned whose meaning or derivation has been confirmed or discovered by means of the Assyrian. However much doubt there may be about a few of these, the proof for most of them seems to be convincing. It is especially gratifying to see the number of *ἀπας λεγόμενα* that have been explained, such as **הַמְחִין** Ps. LXVIII. 24, which is compared to the Assyrian *ma h â s u* "to wash," "to pour over;" **נְחֹשֶׁת** Ezek. XVI. 36, shown by the Assyrian to be a synonym of **עֲרוֹה**; **אֶבֶחָה** Ezek. XXI. 20, which is the Assyrian *ab û h u* "torture." Words hitherto of doubtful meaning have been satisfactorily explained: e. g., **תַּחֲשִׁ** "a kind of goat;" **יְנִשׁוֹף** "an owl;" **חֶסֶף** (1) "work," (2) "pottery;" **לִבָּה** Exod. III. 2, "flicker, flame;" **פֶּרֶר**, **צֶאֱן**, **שָׂדֶה**, **שָׂר**, **מַחִיר**, **לִבְנָה** Obad. 7, "net." The root meaning of **חֶתֶן**, **לִבְבִי**, **אֵב** and **אֵם**. In general, we think, if the facts of the Assyrian are found upon review to be as stated in this chapter, that the positions taken will be mainly tenable and that the book will be an epoch-making one in Hebrew lexicography and for biblical exegesis. It will revolutionize lexicography by introducing a new element on a par with the Aramaic and the Arabic. It will work many changes of front in certain schools of exegesis; for Assyriology has shown not merely that most of the words hitherto thought to be of Persian origin are of true Semitic stock or usage (compare **פַּחַח**, **סֹגֵן**); but in almost every instance, it confirms the

* There are 87 roots in Hebrew beginning with **א**. Of these, 47 occur in Arabic and 46 in the Aramaic dialects with the same or a similar meaning. 15 do not occur in Arabic and 24 cannot be found in any of the Aramaic dictionaries in my possession. In this calculation there may be slight errors; but the strictest rules of consonantal changes have been followed.

Massoretic text as against the LXX. (*Proleg.* pp. 69, 71, 77, 80 et al.), and in many cases it overthrows, while in others it establishes, the emendations proposed by our modern scholars (pp. 70, 74, 76, 89 et al.).

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SMEND AND SOCIN: DIE INSCRIPT DES KÖNIGS MESA VON MOAB.

It is now more than fifteen years since the German missionary, C. F. Klein, upon his return to Jerusalem from a journey in the district of ancient Moab, informed Dr. Petermann, then acting German Consul at Jerusalem, of a curious monument lying among the ruins of ancient Dibôn, and showed him a few specimens of the writing on the stone. Dr. Petermann at once recognized the characters to be Phœnician, and soon satisfied himself of the value of the stone. The romantic story of the stone, with the rather tragic end, how Prof. Petermann received orders from the Prussian government to purchase, how, meanwhile, the Frenchman M. Clermont-Ganneau also learned of the existence of the stone and endeavored to secure it, and how the rivalry between the two governments finally ended in the destruction of the stone by the native Arabic tribes—all this has frequently been told and is well known to scholars.

The literature on the Moabite stone has assumed gigantic proportions. We are certainly not going too far if we estimate the number of books, pamphlets, articles and letters on the subject which have appeared in England, France, Germany, Austria, Italy, Holland, Russia, Hungary, and America, at five hundred. It might be concluded from this that another edition of the monument is superfluous. This, however, is far from being the case. Notwithstanding the large number of eminent scholars who have occupied themselves with the stone, there is still something, if not much, to be done. The unfortunate state of some of the fragments and the numerous gaps have caused difficulties which could only have been expected to yield gradually to the combined efforts of many minds. This hope is being fulfilled, and the new edition of Professors Smend and Socin marks a further and decided advance upon previous publications.

The number of new readings for doubtful places are numerous and in the main correct. The most important one is that proposed for king Meša's father. Instead of כמשנר, Smend and Socin show, beyond a doubt, that it is to be read כמשמלך—a correction which is as striking as it is happy. Dr. Neubauer, in a recent number of the *Athenæum*, takes exception to the reading במשע משע (l. 3) as not being idiomatic Hebrew. It strikes us as again being exceedingly happy; and if the genius of the Moabites resembled that of the Hebrews in any way, this propensity to play upon proper names, so common in the Old Testament, is certainly exceedingly characteristic. The "pun," it may be added, is continued on through the phrase כִּי הִשְׁעֵנִי. In the fifteenth chapter of Isaiah, with the heading "The Doom of Moab"—which reads almost like a reply to king Meša's vainglorious words—we have instances of two such plays upon proper names. The word יַעֲרֹר is very clearly an allusion to the city of Aroer, and the other, דִּימֹן (verse 9), which is Dibôn, and where the ב is intentionally changed to מ—a very slight one, as the Assyrian, where a similar interchange is constant, shows—in order to play upon the following דִּם. The whole verse, as has already been

recognized, refers to the miracle of the "waters red as blood" related in 2 Kgs. III. 22. Possibly, also, there is in קרחה (verse 2) a play upon the place K R H H of the Moabite stone. Smend and Socin take the final Waw in ויענו as radical, and not, as has sometimes been done, as the suffix of the third person masculine. This will meet, I think, with the approval of the best authorities. Besides the fact that the suffix of the third person masculine is always ה on the stone, the construction with the suffix followed by the object to which the suffix refers is decidedly Aramaic idiom, and in the whole inscription there is scarcely a trace of a leaning in this direction, unless it be the plural in הן, for which, however, another explanation may be offered.

The reading כרבר is certainly correct, as Dr. Neubauer in the above-quoted notice (*Athenæum*, 3072) justly points out. It seems to me that there is scarcely room for the two letters כר which Smend and Socin see proper to add. We might read כיה, which would have the advantage at least of being idiomatic usage, but even the preceding word אמר is by no means clear, so that it is best to hazard no further conjectures. The reading חצי in line 8, though extremely ingenious, appears to me very doubtful indeed. The line would read, "And he (Omri) dwelt therein during his days and half the days of his son" apart from the fact that the chronological difficulties would only be enhanced thereby, it certainly must strike one as strange to find such an expression as "half the days of his son" in an inscription of this nature. It is entirely too accurate; we would in this case be obliged to suppose that Meša knew exactly how long Ahab reigned; that he outlived him and only erected this monument after Ahab's death. Furthermore, Ahab having reigned twenty-two years, the rebellion must have broken out in the twelfth year of his reign, and we must then further suppose that the war lasted at least until Ahab's death, or that Meša postponed the erection of this monument for a long period. Neither supposition is plausible. Besides, it is highly improbable that Meša should have rebelled *during* the reign of the powerful Ahab. It is far more likely, and in accordance with what we know of the times, that a change of rulers should have been seized upon as a favorable moment for revolt; and if we bear in mind the weak character of Ahab's immediate successor, and his long illness, there is every reason to place the beginning of the rebellion at the death of Ahab, in accordance with the Jewish tradition (2 Kgs. I. 1 and III. 5). The question, of course, would still remain whether the victories celebrated by Meša occurred previous to the defeat of the Moabites through the combined forces of Judah, Israel and Edom, or whether—which seems to me far more plausible—the war finally turned in favor of Moab, and that our inscription refers to the defeat of the Israelites so obscurely alluded to in 2 Kgs. III. 26 and 27. At any rate, it is clear that these two verses have no connection with what precedes, and have reference to a different and, as I believe, later stage of the rebellion.

I would also call attention to the fact, which Smend and Socin seem to have overlooked, that the ז and part of the ו stand on an isolated fragment, and that possibly the fragment is entirely misplaced. There is certainly room for it elsewhere. At any rate, it appears to me that everything points to a reading כל ימי בנה "all the days of his son." Forty years would then be a round number, as it so frequently is in the traditional Jewish chronology. The ועלאדה which Dr. Neubauer takes for a locality, I am inclined to consider a verb, the ה at the end representing the suffix. If the close of line 31 is correct, it is easy to supply at

least the sense of the beginning of line 32, where there must have been a phrase similar to the **אָענוּ אַתּ מאַב** of line 6. In the same way it is quite safe to fill up the gap at the beginning of line 3 with **חֶם בַּחוּרְנִי** or possibly **בַּחֲרִנִּי**. The most obscure passages are now the close of 27, and beginning of 28 and 31.

It but remains for me to call attention to the splendidly executed copy of the inscription which accompanies the work. It is in the full sense a masterpiece for neatness and accuracy. With it and the copious notes and references given by the German professors, every one is placed in a position to study this important monument of antiquity for himself. The work cannot be too highly recommended. We should like to see an edition of the Siloam inscription of equal excellency.

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